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ssinger's Summit
—See page 24

NOVEMBER 15, 1985

NATIONAL REVIEW

FLAT-EARTH SAGAN FALLS OFF THE END OF THE WORLD

By Brad Sparks

Nuclear-Winter Fundamentalism Challenged by Responsible Scientists

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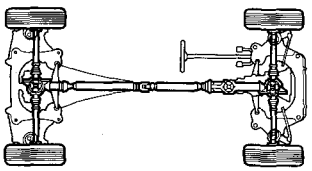

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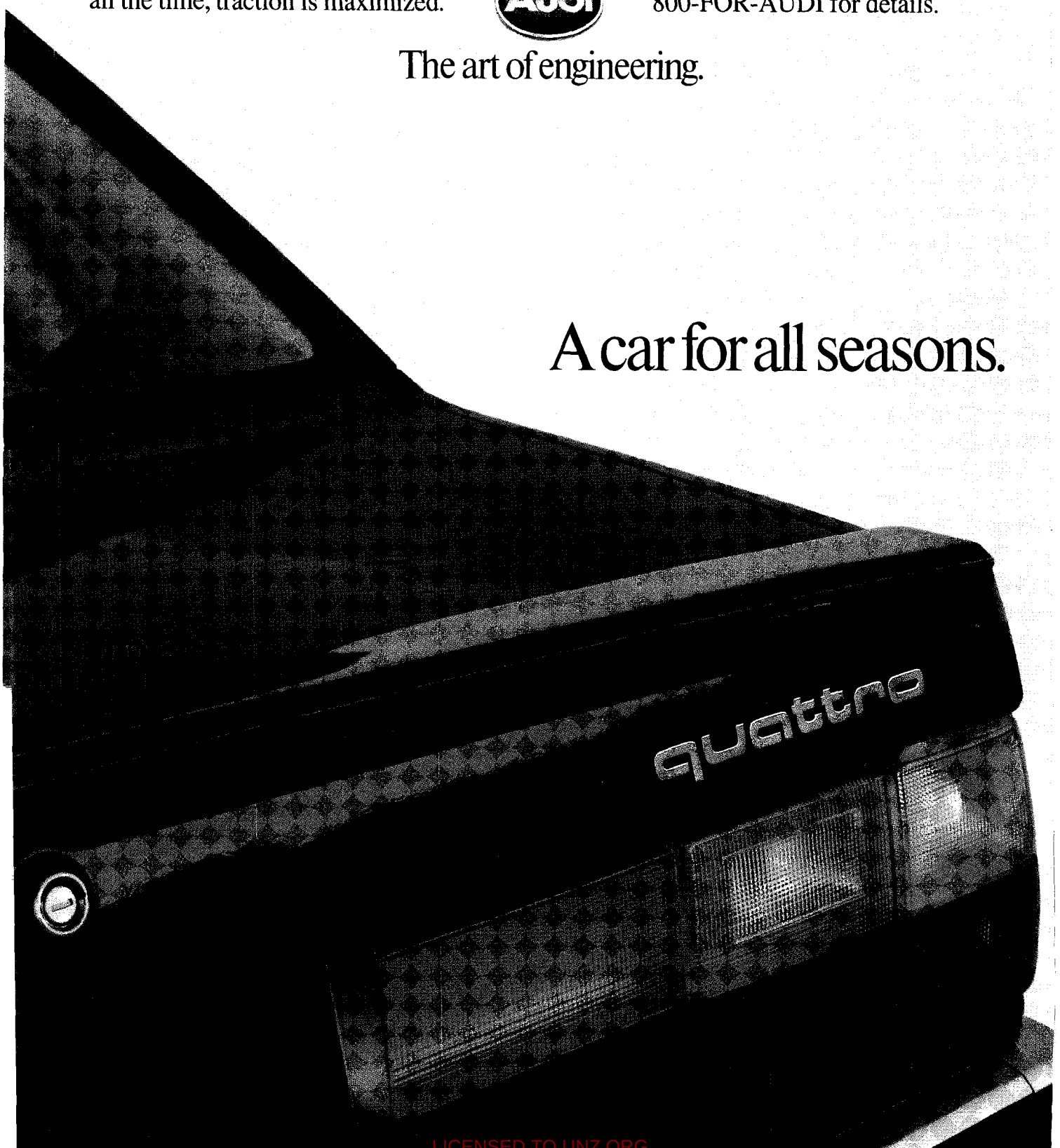

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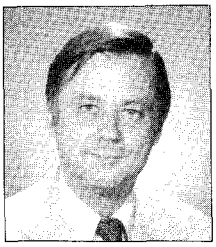
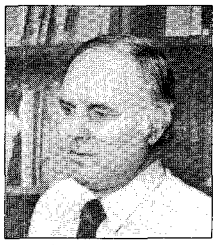

BETHELL 40


NOVAK 46

SOBRAN 55

BUCKLEY 62

THE COVER

28 The Scandal of Nuclear Winter
The science turns out to be a little slushy, but anybody can make a mistake. The real scandal is that the scientists who should have put the theory on ice used it to promote their politics and their careers instead.
Brad Sparks

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

24 The Summit According to Henry
The President, says Mr. Kissinger, should offer to limit, but not cancel, deployment of the SDI. *John McLaughlin*

39 A Surfeit of Spies
A Soviet spy ring has been using Greece as a base for terror, but Prime Minister Papandreou's main concern seems to be keeping things quiet. *Richard C. Carpenter*

40 How to Start a Revolution without Really Trying
On the theory that broadening ownership thwarts Communism, Western land reformers want to abolish property rights. What worked for South Vietnam, El Salvador, and the Philippines can work for your Third World country too. *Tom Bethell*

44 The Executioner's Bias
Why white men shouldn't commit murder.
Lawrence W. Johnson

46 Polarizing Catholics?
Morally and theologically the pastoral letter on the U.S. economy has been greatly improved. But its descriptions of American reality are still those of left-wing Democrats.
Michael Novak

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

48 "There's no hope of correcting the fundamental tendentiousness, endless back-projection, and tedious ideologizing" of Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*, argues **J. O. Tate**, "for if its totalitarian feminism were excised, its reverential unction remodulated, or its distorted choices recast, then we would not have anything like this book. Its function would be canceled entirely, for it could no longer be instrumental in a divisive cause." . . . In *Historical Consciousness*, John Lukacs—whom **Regis Martin** calls an "exquisite example of the reactionary intellectual"—argues that in the West history has become "essential to the being of man." . . . Tom Goldstein takes journalistic ethics seriously, which, says **Joseph Sobran**, was his first mistake. . . . If WASP Wall Streeters had inherited memories of Iroquois council fires then America would be—like Mexico: **D. Keith Mano** on Octavio Paz.

6 LETTERS
12 FOR THE RECORD
14 THE WEEK
26 THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT
34 help!!!
45 FROM THE CONTINENT
58 THE RIGHT BOOKS
62 ON THE RIGHT
66 TRANS-O-GRAM

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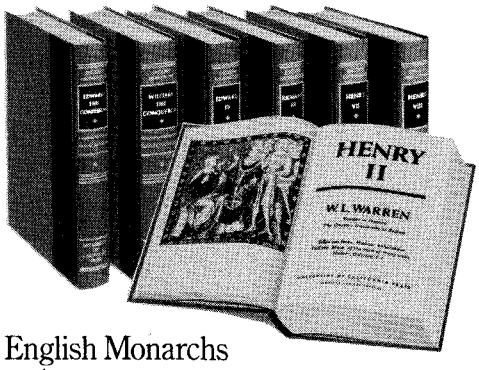

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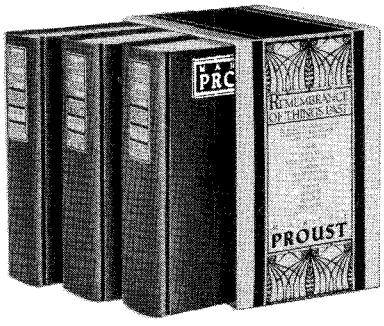

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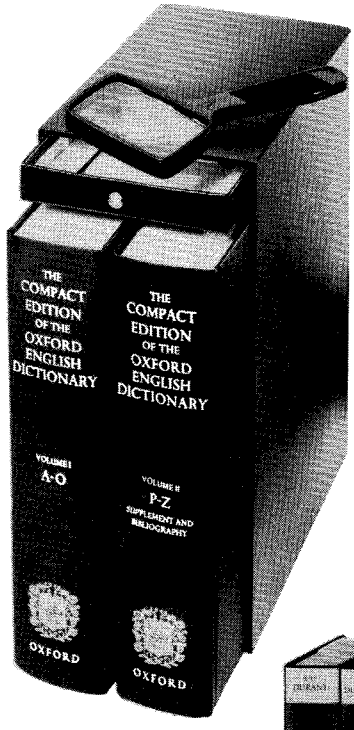

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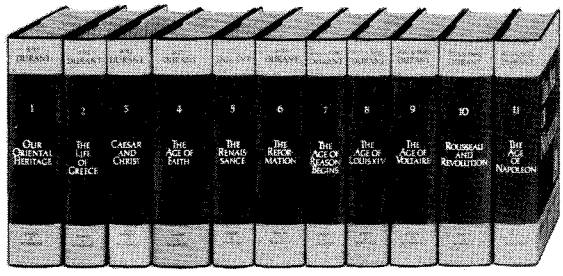

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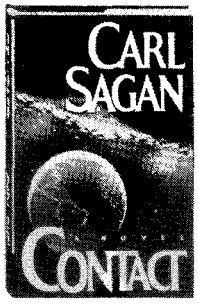

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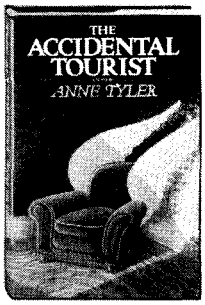

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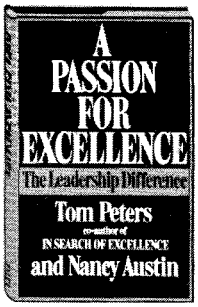

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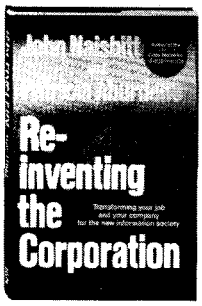

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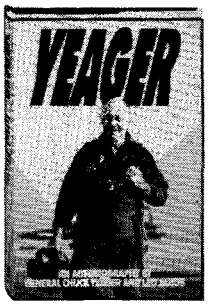

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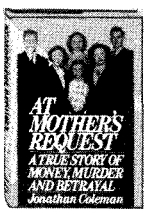

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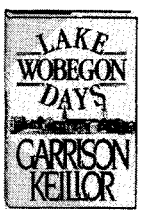

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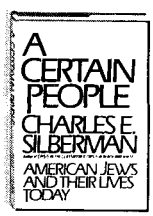

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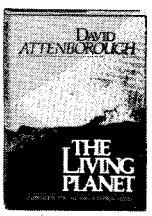

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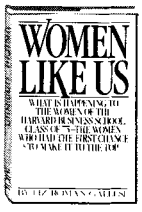

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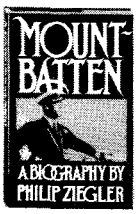

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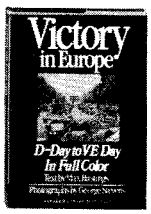

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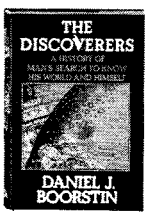

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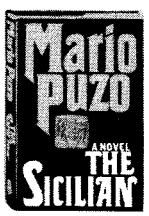

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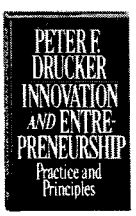

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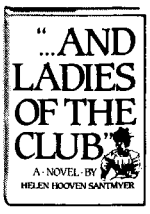

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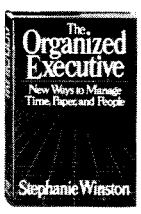

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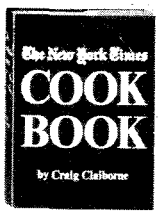

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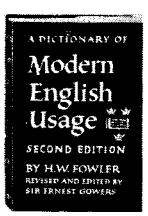

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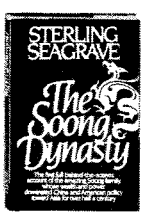

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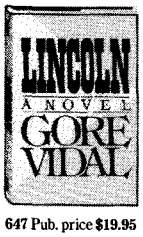

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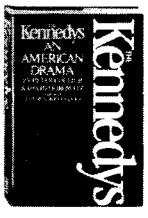

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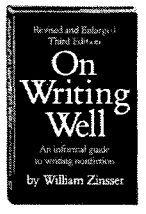

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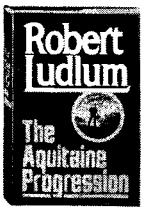

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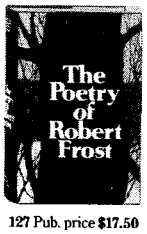

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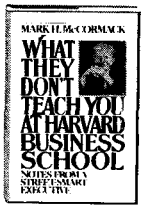

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LETTERS

Revolutionary Evil

While we are now being subjected to the ceaseless clamor for change in South Africa ["Reagan and South Africa: The Case for Urgent Understanding," by John Hutchinson, Nov. 1], soon the apartheid-bashers will be silent. When the People's Republic of South Africa becomes the Soviet Union's latest franchise, tales of violence and repression will no longer reach past its borders.

Then, the busybody do-gooders who disinvested, protested, and got arrested in front of the South African Embassy (only to be released in time for happy hour) will be scratching their pointy heads and talking about the revolution betrayed. As they skitter off to some more fashionable cause (battered seals with AIDS?) they will once again refuse to learn one of history's most tragic lessons: that revolutions are never betrayed, they are by nature violent, malignant, and evil.

George Ganges
Birmingham, Ala.

Trade School

More than two centuries after Adam Smith wrote *The Wealth of Nations*, and almost that long since David Ricardo explained the principle of comparative advantage, it is depressing to find my favorite journal discussing issues in international trade as if neither Smith nor Ricardo had ever existed.

Says *NR* in discussing "Three Myths about Japan" ["The Week," Sept. 6]: "Japan's export success ['massive trade surplus'] derives largely from a labor force willing to work fifty hours a week at wages far below those paid here." Nonsense. Japanese workers are paid in yen; U.S. workers paid in dollars. As Ricardo pointed out, the relevant comparison is between the costs of production in one industry in Japan relative to another industry in Japan, and in one industry in the United States relative to another industry in the United States, not between some mythical average wage in Japan and in the United States.

If willingness to work long hours for low wages guaranteed trade surpluses, how come Bangladesh, Mozambique, Peru, and Mexico—to name only a few examples—are not awash in trade surpluses? Or how come Japan's surpluses have not fallen sharply as the standard of living in Japan has soared?

Japan has a surplus on current account because Japanese residents find it desirable to invest part of their savings abroad rather than at home, and the only way that they can do so is to earn more foreign currency from exports than they spend on imports. The rate of exchange between the yen and foreign currencies is set by the market at the level that will produce a large enough surplus on current account to finance the desired capital export (i.e., deficit on capital account).

From discussions of the foreign-trade deficit in the media—*NR* unfortunately included—you would never gather that the preference of foreigners for investing in the U.S. rather than at home is conferring a bonanza on U.S. consumers, strengthening our capital stock, facilitating the maintenance of employment, and reducing the harm from excessive government spending.

Milton Friedman
Stanford, Calif.

Phonetic Engineering

Refuring to page 34 of my weekly bible, NATIONAL REVIEW, of October 18. I noticed a mild spelling error in the political cartoon about German Intelligence. I am not one who spells well and I have difficulty learning any language, even the "easyest" Spanish. But I cought one none the less.

When a member in the German Intelligence asked, "What I'm about to tell you *cannot* go beyond these walls—*understand*?" accross the Berlin Wall the answer was, "Ya." I believe you were referring to the German word for "yes," pheneticly pronounced "ya" with a short "a" sound. However it is spelled "ja."

No major criticizism, just looking out for you. Be sure to enter this date into the history books. The day David R. Spahr IV discovers anothers spelling error. Keep up the good work.

David R. Spahr IV
Pittsburgh, Pa.

School AIDS

In the controversy over AIDS children attending school ["The AIDS Question," "On the Right," Oct. 18] one point has been missed. Immune deficiency means the sufferer has no resistance to disease: Any contagion—influenza for example—would probably be fatal.

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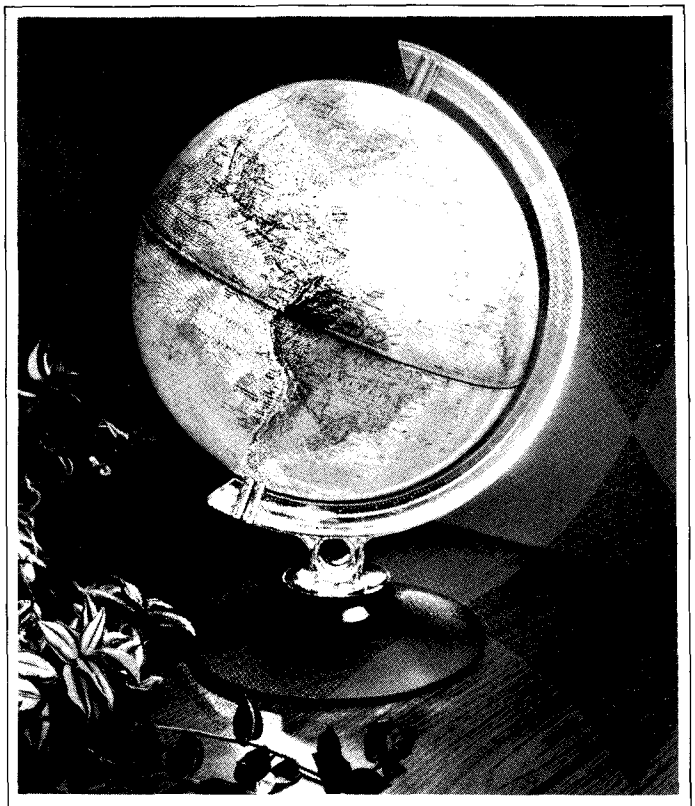

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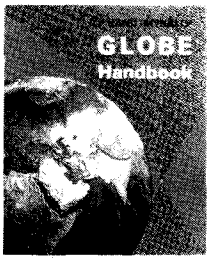

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The school is notoriously an ideal environment for the spread of contagious diseases. Surely the AIDS child should be isolated for his own protection.

Carl E. Bass
Portland, Ore.

Nicene Screed

What you refer to as the Episcopal Church's "editing" from the Nicene Creed of the "affirmation" that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son ["The Week," Oct. 18] is more accurately a *restoration* of the Creed in its original form.

The interpolation of "and the Son"—the so-called *Filioque* clause—arose in the West, first in Spain in the sixth century and eventually in Rome by the eleventh. Although a bona-fide attempt to combat the Arian heresy that the Son was of a nature different from and inferior to that of the Father, the interpolation was condemned in the East as an unauthorized addition to the Creed and as theologically unsound (for reasons that are too detailed to go into here). Canon VII of the Third Ecumenical Council (A.D. 431) had forbidden further modifications to the Creed. As is well known, the *Filioque* controversy was a major factor in the eventual schism between the Eastern (Orthodox) and Western (Catholic) Churches.

In its consultations with the Orthodox, the Anglican Communion has declared that irrespective of the theological correctness of the *Filioque* concept the interpolation was improper. Accordingly, it has moved to reinstitute the original Creed.

Diogenes P. Kekatos
Long Island City, N.Y.

Missing Persons

Now that Jeffrey Hart seems satisfied that the Amelia Earhart mystery has been solved ["The Rest of the Story," Oct. 18], could he please tell us where Judge Crater and Jimmy Hoffa are? Could they be sitting on that same beach at Saipan, drinking mai-tais mixed, perhaps, by Martin Bormann?

Fred Hitchcock
Bodega Bay, Calif.

Talk of the Town

I am moved to write you in appreciation of the review by Richard Brookhiser in the October 4 issue ["The Evil of Banality"]. I have always wondered what existed outside the boundaries of *The New Yorker*'s cartoons, but I have only once ventured beyond them out of fear of what I might encounter.

I also enjoyed Brookhiser's explanation of how a story written by Elizabeth Drew (didn't her husband carry the football for Jimmy "Look, Ma, no cavities!" Carter?) is created. Fourteen pages (don't check; I didn't count them) about Walter Mondale in 1973 drove me to avoid anything with her byline.

I hope to see more of this. Perhaps Mr. Brookhiser could tell us all how to read the *Washington Post*?

Bradford S. J. Young
Charlottesville, Va.

Disinvest Now!

Concerning the riots in England ["Explosion Time," by Anthony Lejeune, Oct. 4], I suggest that we immediately disinvest from all companies that do business with the repressive government of Great Britain. A ban on British sterling should be imposed. All IRA rebels should be freed. We should adopt another tongue as our national language, so that we no longer speak the language of racism. Congress should form the Anglo Caucus and denounce the Crown at every session. Ted Kennedy should go to Birmingham to denounce the "repugnant" policies of Margaret Thatcher. Students across America should erect "shanty flats" to show solidarity with Britain's oppressed minorities. As for me, I am giving up Callard & Bowser toffee, Monty Python's Flying Circus, scones (breakfast of supremacists), and Yorkshire pudding, and have changed my hairstyle from Lady Di bangs to Winnie Mandela cornrows.

Mary Stewart
Kew Gardens, N.Y.

Burst Amendment

This comment is prompted by an item ["The Week," Oct. 4] dealing with the lot of the 16,500 aborted fetuses denied religious burial because of pressure brought by the ACLU (via the California State Supreme Court). The indispensable icon was, of course, church and state separation.

Quite suddenly it struck me that I've never heard mentioned any instance when the mobile mouth of the ACLU ever foamed over the matter of attaching to historical data religiously informative abbreviations such as A.D. and B.C.

Anno Domini might, I suppose, be tolerated as a kooky Latin quirk. But: *Before Christ*! How can history textbooks—some of which may be partially funded by government grants—afford Christ specific recognition without tread-

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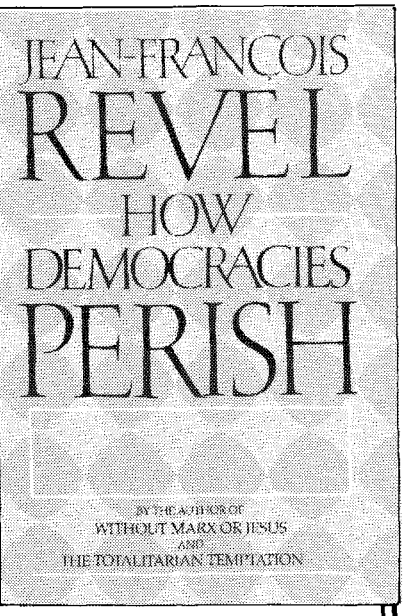
This is the book Jeane Kirkpatrick quoted in her stirring address to the Republican convention



Do you remember her words? "The American people know that it is dangerous to blame ourselves for terrible problems we didn't cause. They understand, just as the distinguished French writer, Jean-Francois Revel, understands the danger of endless self-criticism and self-denigration. He wrote: 'Clearly, a civilization that feels guilty for everything it is and does will lack the energy and conviction to defend itself.' "

That, briefly, is the kernel of this classic study of Western malaise. The Kremlin is playing the liberal West like a fiddle. Revel expands his analysis with several key points:

- ☐ Liberal democracies are *by nature* flabby. If liberal intellectuals hesitate to admit this — well, the Communists are in no hurry to embarrass them.
- ☐ Soviet disinformation *seeks out* the soft spots in our liberals. And finds them, all the time.
- ☐ Revel analyzes the soft spots, shows *how* the Soviets zero in on them.
- ☐ How the Communists plot — yes, *plot* — for world domination. Why they've been winning ever since Yalta.
- ☐ Case histories: how the left-liberals paved the way for these Red victories.
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But shouldn't we take comfort from the internal problems of the Soviets? Revel calls this an illusion. *One* of us, he points out, will collapse first. But we fail to exploit Communist weaknesses. They not only exploit ours, they *cause* some of them.

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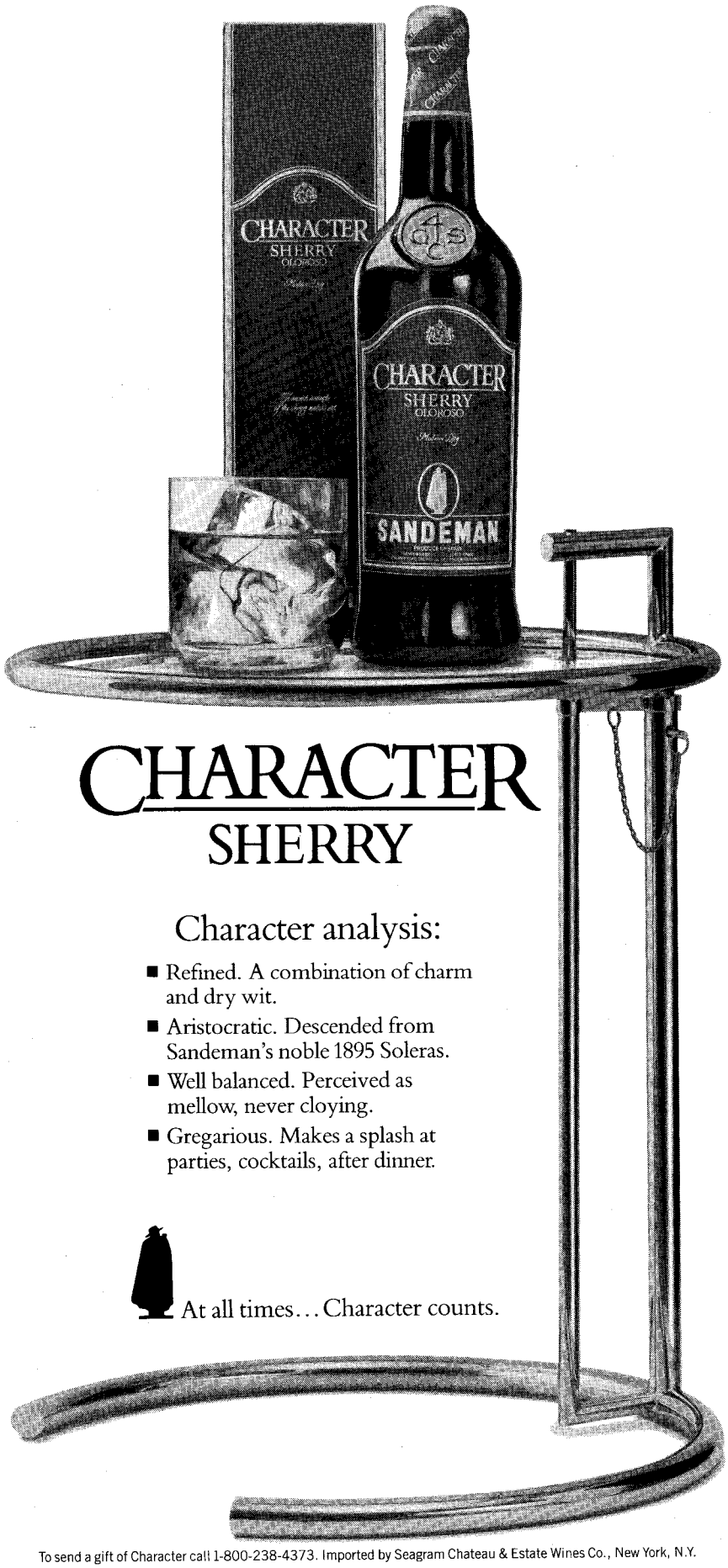

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Consuelo Ives, MD
New York, N.Y.

Scientists' Defense Initiative

Mr. Buckley's appraisal of the movement of scientists to boycott the SDI ["Empty Thought from Our Scientists," "On the Right," Aug. 23] gives too much credence to the political motives of such a movement. There is a more concrete reason for such apparent solidarity at the universities: simple self-interest.

It's a fact of life that large-scale technological-development projects have a tendency to draw money away from pure or non-applied research, the type done by most university scientists. For example, in the late Sixties I was surprised to learn of the opposition of much of the physics community to the Apollo program, also condemned as misguided and expensive. Of course, an organized boycott of the space race would have had none of the cultural charisma of one against the arms race.

In short, scientists in general are a politically diverse but self-interested group.

E. Bryan
Irvine, Calif.

Treaty Tricks

A letter from Doyne Dawson in the September 20 issue praises the magnificent Soviet record on compliance with arms-control treaties.

The radar field the Soviets are building in Krasnoyarsk constitutes a violation of the ABM Treaty. That is the opinion of Robert McNamara, the pacifist who headed the Department of Defense during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

Concerning the biological-weapons convention, Representative Stephen J. Solarz says, "There may be reasons for doubting that the Soviet Union is involved with illegal chemical warfare in Asia, but the facts of the case aren't among them." Mr. Solarz is not usually thought to be a right-wing nut.

The SALT II treaty limits each of the superpowers to 2,250 strategic-missile launchers. The Soviets have been over this limit for years. The treaty also prohibits encoding of missile test data, something the Soviets do on a routine basis. No less a nuclear-weapons expert than Jimmy Carter (after careful consultation with Amy) said that a violation of this provision would be as serious as a violation of any other provision of the treaty.

Gene Stacy
York, S.C.

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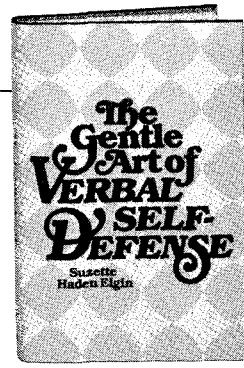
About the Author

Psycholinguist Suzette Haden Elgin has presented her innovative self-defense principles in a variety of formats. She has given workshops and seminars all over the U.S., including verbal self-defense sessions for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Dr. Elgin has also created a self-defense tape and a training manual for people who teach her self-defense techniques.



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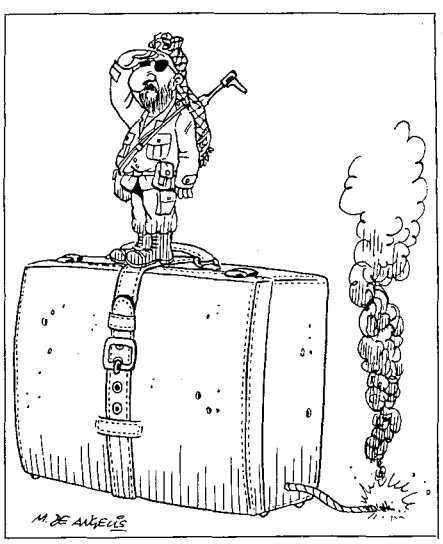
FOR THE RECORD

U.S. News reports an unnamed European diplomat remarking, condescendingly, that "**Gorbachev** will swallow **Reagan** within half an hour" of their meeting. . . . **Henry Kissinger** begs to disagree. In an interview with **John McLaughlin**, Kissinger commented that Gorbachev was "too clever by half" in his heavy-handed Paris grandstanding on nuclear disarmament. If Reagan sticks by his guns in respect to SDI, says Kissinger, "he may end up with a major agreement with the Soviets." . . . You can't fool the American people all the time. While 83 per cent of them approve a Reagan-Gorbachev meeting (NBC News poll), 69 per cent doubt that an agreement will be reached on arms control and 74 per cent feel that even if it is, the Russians cannot be trusted to abide by it. . . . "If they ever give an **Oscar** for bad timing," writes **Mary McGrory**, "there is no need to ask for the envelope. President **Daniel Ortega** of Nicaragua will be the winner going away." Miss McGrory was referring to the Sandinista ban on civil liberties in Nicaragua a week before Ortega was scheduled to address the UN General Assembly, and, of course, to his prior high-visibility visit to Moscow that resulted in a congressional turnabout on aid to the *Contras*. . . . **Yasir Arafat** is not far behind in the bad-timing stakes. The *Achille Lauro* affair caused six Third World nations to drop a bid to have him address the UN.

Some summit preparations: Sandinista secret-police chief **Lenin Cerna** is already cracking down on political opponents. He has in past week interrogated **Erick Ramirez**, head of the Social Christian Party, and two other political leaders, and warned them against "issuing press releases." . . . In Gdansk, **Lech Walesa** has been charged with slandering the government by issuing Solidarity election-turnout figures to Western newsmen; he faces two years in jail if convicted. . . . At the UN, Pakistani President **Mohammed Zia Ul-haq**, the man closest to the scene, says the Soviets now have 150,000 troops in Afghanistan and that they, and their Afghan puppets, have suffered sixty thousand casualties in the six-year war, and are getting nowhere. Sooner or later, says Zia, Gorbachev will realize there is no military solution to the Afghan question. . . . *Der Spiegel* hints negotiations are under way for the release from prison and internal exile of Soviet dissidents **Anatoly Shcharansky** and **Andrei Sakharov** and for their deportation shortly after the summit.

On the domestic political front, **Kevin Phillips**'s early October feel is that best Republicans can do in Senate next year is a 50-50 standoff; more probably the Democrats will win control with a possible 52 seats. He sees a GOP loss of five to seven seats, a Democratic loss of one or two. . . . A plus for Republicans is decision of former Gov. **Richard Snelling** to make a race against Sen. **Patrick Leahy** in Vermont next year. Director **David Narsavage** of National Republican Senatorial Committee says Snelling was only "first-tier" candidate the Republicans had. Vermont has been trending Democratic, but Snelling is the state's most popular politician. . . . A possible plus: If Democratic Rep. **Byron Dorgan** of North Dakota decides to hold off until 1988 to run for Senate—Sen. **Quentin Burdick** will be eighty then—it could mean a Republican retention of an endangered seat. Sen. **Mark Andrews** is favored against other Democratic possibilities. . . . In Ohio, Rep. **Tom Kindness** has made it official: He will run against **John Glenn**, opening the way for **Buz Lukens** to make a bid for his old 8th CD seat—a sure win. . . . A possible GOP pickup is in Colorado where a **Godhaber** Associates poll shows 59 per cent of the voters don't want **Gary Hart** to run for re-election if he's doing it as stepping-stone to presidential race. . . . Things are mighty confused in Texas where informal polls show that former Gov. **Bill Clements** has best chance of winning gubernatorial primary next year, but that he would run least well against Gov. **Mark White**. Also in the race are Rep. **Tom Loeffler**, former Rep. **Kent Hance**, a Democrat turned Republican and—a new possibility—Dane County Executive **Jonathan B. Barry**, who switched parties just a fortnight ago. . . . Count 'em: there are now 11 Republicans in the race against Democratic Sen. **Alan Cranston** in California. Leading the field, but by just a few points, is state senator **Ed Davis**. Poll there says 52 per cent would like to see a new face in the Senate, 39 like the man they've got. . . . In this year's two major gubernatorial races: Republican Gov. **Tom Kean** of New Jersey was leading opponent **Peter Shapiro** 67 to 17 three weeks before election day; in Virginia, it was Democrat **Jerry Baliles** over Republican **Wyatt Durrette** by 19 points. . . . Incidentally, the only senator to turn up for **Charles Mathias**'s press conference announcing his retirement was Connecticut's **Lowell Weicker**.



De Angelis / Rotheo

Rock singer **Bob Geldof** was so distressed at not receiving Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to raise zillions for African famine relief that he has gone back to his rock group, the Boomtown Rats, explaining to *Washington Post* that "compassion fatigue has very much set in."

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Gabriel Cortez
Colombia
Age 4

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THE WEEK

☐ The execution of South African poet Benjamin Moloisi had nothing to do with the policeman's murder. The judge is a literary critic.

☐ William Bradford Reynolds is at it again. This time, the indefatigable Associate Attorney General for Civil Rights is launching an attack on a form of racism seldom discussed: the practice followed by some schools of lowering academic standards for minority students who need a higher grade-point average in order to graduate. Fearing charges of racial discrimination, some schools "are leaning over backward to jimmy the numbers in terms of their graduating class," according to Reynolds, who vowed to try to put an end to the "two-track systems" that leave minority students "ill-equipped to read and write and deal with arithmetic concepts." The law under which the Justice Department would prosecute any school it found holding minorities to different academic standards? The Civil Rights Act of 1964.

☐ As a number of supply-side commentators have been telling us, being a net debtor nation is not necessarily a bad thing. We can relax about foreign countries' defaulting on their debts to us; next time we get to default on our debts to them. And our high growth rate tends to pull in foreign capital, which in turn helps to keep our growth rate high. This last point assumes, however, that the borrowing is going to finance extra investment. Unfortunately, much of the current borrowing is needed to pay for the unending expansion of federal social spending, a circumstance that does not exactly call for passing around party favors for a supply-side celebration.

☐ Michael Novak, a key figure in the Catholic Lay Commission that responded critically to the first draft of the bishops' economic pastoral letter, analyzes the second draft elsewhere in this issue [see p. 46]. But other aspects of the document, both intellectual and personal, deserve notice. The leftist assumptions that, as Novak points out, still shape the bishops' description of American conditions diminish the bishops' authority even as they defame America. What theological sense does it make to describe the present unemployment rate—7.1 per cent—as "morally unacceptable"? Was the unemployment rate in 1938, the sixth year of the New Deal—19 per cent—doubly unacceptable? (Was Roosevelt therefore twice as immoral as Reagan?) After such loose talk, what clout can an episcopal condemnation carry, the next time the bishops decide to utter one?

☐ Jonas Savimbi and UNITA (see "Angola's Unknown War," in *NR*'s November 1 issue) have survived the latest Communist attempt to finish them off. The Angolan government, well stocked with Soviet tanks, planes, and (reportedly) advisors, made a dry-season push for Savimbi's headquarters in Jamba. The offensive began with the boast that Jamba had already fallen. In the event, Savimbi caught the invaders near the Lomba River in the southeastern Angolan desert. UNITA claimed more than two thousand government casualties and 22 aircraft (they put their own casualties at 1,200). The beaten government army has retreated for the rainy season. "The Russians," Savimbi told *Newsweek*, "wanted to test the will of the West." That's an open question, but the will of southeastern Angola seems pretty firm.

☐ The latest foreign competition for the American car market comes not from Japan, but Yugoslavia. The first shipment of ten thousand subcompact cars named (what else?) Yugos will be hitting the docks shortly. Over the next four years, 360,000 Yugos will invade the U.S. market. The first Communist-manufactured cars destined for American showrooms are equipped with front-wheel drive and 55-horsepower engines and have a price tag of less than

Remember Pearl Harbor

Like Cabots and Lowells in Boston,
The Army and Navy would nod,
And though the attack got them talking,
They still preferred chatting with God.
It's Senator Goldwater's notion
The Wars of the Roses persist,
While inside the Beltway, the barons
Say Barry will never be missed.

W. H. von Dreele

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

The earlier word here had been that Phil Gramm's spectacular six-years-to-zero deficit-reduction bill was political wizardry, because it put the deficit to sleep through next year's mid-term election. Not so, say Hill insiders, including Phil Gramm himself in a conversation with Cato. "The President has got to submit the toughest budget ever on January 15," says the freshman Texas senator and Republican convert, "and Congress has got to adopt the toughest budget it's ever adopted on May 15." If the Hill fails to do that (it almost certainly will), Gramm foresees an enforced presidential across-the-board cut before election day that will affect every program in the federal budget. Gramm says that if Reagan doesn't veto more bills in the next month than he vetoed since taking office, "We'll pull the trigger November 1 of this year, with the across-the-board cut then." Gramm is assuming that his Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill will be passed in short order, and he is almost certainly correct in so thinking.

Here's the rub for Reagan: Roughly one-third of the near trillion-dollar U.S. budget goes to military spending, one-third to Social Security and interest on the national debt, and one-third to domestic outlays (child care, education, environment, etc.). Since defense and Social Security are both untouchables (the first by presidential fiat, the second by the Gramm bill), the heavy carving by Mr. Reagan will have to be done on the last one-third, i.e., domestic spending. Since no one believes that the whole reduction can come from that one-third, Mr. Reagan will be forced to a) cut the military budget or b) raise taxes, both of which are anathema to him.

This is why liberal Democrats like Senators Kennedy, Dodd, and Kerry voted in favor of the Gramm bill (they say, ignoring its flank-covering utility to them) and why mega-partisan Democratic Representative Tony Coelho in the House and his fellow liberals will follow suit, knowing that the Gramm bill could mean a bitter political harvest for Mr. Reagan and the Republicans.

The President is looking for a face-saver to ease out of the embarrassing situation he put himself (and King Hussein) into by failing to engage in "broad-based and constructive consultation" with Congress on the sale of $1.9 billion in arms to Jordan. In late September, Senator Bob Kasten (R., Wis.), chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations (controlling foreign-aid purse strings), voiced "deep and bitter disappointment" at the Administration's failure to consult with the Hill. "Mr. Secretary, I believe you have broken your word to us," Kasten wrote George Shultz plaintively, with the concurrence of the ranking minority member, Daniel K. Inouye (D., Hawaii), who had himself written earlier. Kasten and other members are concerned that King Hussein has not done enough publicly to recognize Israel, or to become "active" in the peace process, two sine qua nons for the arms transfer.

The current Senate stonewalling of the arms sale has "nothing to do with the *Achille Lauro* or with the U.S. interception of the Egyptian airliner bearing the terrorists," notes an anti-sale Republican senator. "Arms for Jordan are dead, kaput, gone," he says with emphasis, and the 44 Democrats and 28 Republicans who have signed a "Dear Colleague" letter make his point. Thus, with at least 72 senators opposed to the sale, it's unlikely that Mr. Reagan will be able to muster the simple majority needed for passage.

Correction: *Newsweek* reported that Cap Weinberger phoned the President "repeatedly" to oppose the interception by our Navy jets of the Egyptian airliner carrying the four terrorists, Abu Abbas, and his bodyguard. Actually, the Defense Secretary phoned *once*, spread out the pros and cons for Mr. Reagan, and came down against the operation, on the grounds that it would damage our relations with Egypt and destabilize Mubarak.

Did you know that Governor Richard Lamm (D., Colo.) is running for President? The governor's scenario as outlined in his forthcoming book, *Megatrauma*, is that the United States is going down the chute, thanks to failed leadership, colossal deficits (domestic and trade), a superpower standoff, and a barren national spirit. George Bush will succeed Ronald Reagan, and the world will see a replay of 1932, only writ larger. Then the American people will turn to—you guessed it—the prophetic and original thinker, Richard Lamm, to lead them out of megatrauma.

That's what's being heard in Washington salons on the eve of Halloween by —CATO

$4,000. How do they do it? Well, it seems that Yugoslavia, with an 80 per cent inflation rate, a million people out of work, and $19 billion in debts to Western countries, has an overabundance of what Detroit lacks, cheap labor.

☐ There is something rotten in the state of Sweden. Le Duc Tho got a Nobel Peace Prize, in tandem with Henry Kissinger. Last year, Bishop Tutu got one, fanning the flames of civil war in South Africa. This year, an obscure organization based in Boston called the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War got one. It claims that nuclear war is bad for your health. Its Soviet representative, Dr. Yevgeny I. Chazov, is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and not a critic of Soviet missile proliferation. In fact, there is no Soviet anti-nuclear movement outside of the "mental hospitals." This year's award no doubt has much to do with the approaching Star Wars summit meeting. In the unlikely event that you get a Nobel Peace Prize, just take the money and run.

☐ Senators Kennedy and Dodd had a smashing time out on the town the other night. After tossing back a few at La Colline, a swank Washington eatery, the senators were on their way out when Teddy spotted a framed picture of Dodd on the wall. Yelling

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"Who's this guy?" he threw the photo onto the floor, sending glass flying. This drove Dodd to take a photo of Kennedy and do the same. Then they both took a picture of Dale Bumpers and dashed it to the ground. Before they wrecked the joint, cooler heads prevailed, and they started again to leave. On his way out the door, Teddy warned that if the photos were not put back on the wall, broken glass and all, he would never return. Although the incident is being hushed up on the Hill, it caused one Boston columnist to suggest that restaurants take out Kennedy liability insurance to protect themselves from "the nation's oldest juvenile delinquent." It wasn't specified whether the insurance would include automotive and marine coverage.

☐ Reed Irvine, the founder and chairman of the conservative media watchdog group Accuracy in Media, has started a new organization, Accuracy in Academia, dedicated to monitoring and protesting egregious left-wing bias in university classrooms. Of course some professorial types, who tend to be a little excitable, are already claiming to hear the storm troopers pounding their jack boots on the door in the middle of the night. Amazing how one man with a newsletter can frighten a thousand professors with tenure. The suggestion that academic freedom should shield academics from public criticism of their work is obviously self-contradictory. If its critiques are well supported and well reasoned, AIA will be a useful enterprise. Nevertheless, academic inquiry is not journalism, and the standards by which it is judged must be far more tolerant of speculation and intellectual risk-taking than the standards by which we judge a cub reporter on the police beat.

☐ Most undergraduate publications are college-subsidized. Those that are not rarely reach Volume 1, Number 2. *The Dartmouth Review*, which receives no college funding, and is independently incorporated, is now celebrating its fifth anniversary. It is probably the most influential undergraduate publication in the country, and has provided the model for a hundred or so suchlike. Most of its financial support comes from conservative alumni, the rest from advertising and foundations. It has been described by the *New York Times* as the best-written college paper in the country. Its own alumni have gone on to major posts, including the *Wall Street Journal*, the Heritage Foundation, and the White House. Fifth-anniversary congratulations are highly in order.

☐ From those wonderful folks who brought you cyanide capsules at the school infirmary: The Students against Nuclear Suicide at Brown University have kicked off their fundraising drive with a bake sale. Proceeds from the campaign will attempt to subsidize an engineering professor so he does not have to accept research money from Strategic Defense Initiative grants. The bake sale took in $250, which is a few brownies short of the $123,000 they hoped to raise. Why don't the students want research done on the SDI? Perhaps they would hate to see their cyanide capsules go to waste.

☐ Acting with unaccustomed haste, the United States Government has told the railroads to fire their fire-

Please Dial Again

As long as it's divesting time,
I'd like to focus on a crime
Committed by the Soviets,
Where anti-state discussion gets
Incarceration as a nut.
Help? I think the phone's been cut.

W. H. von Dreele

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men, 26 years after the last steam locomotives went out of service.

☐ Folks are finding all sorts of ways to get out from behind the Bamboo Curtain. One recent group of boat people set sail from Mainland China on a rather peculiar vessel: a raft made of 28,704 inflated condoms. It appears that in population-nervous Red China, condoms are easier to come by than, say, inner tubes.

☐ In Zanzibar, Idris Abdul Wakil has been elected president with 61.5 per cent of the vote, which isn't so good, considering he was running unopposed.

☐ While everybody was talking about the World Series in Missouri, we'd like to point to the score in the Mediterranean: Yankees 4, Pirates 0.

☐ NOBLE PRIZE AWARDED TO CLAUDE SIMON—A.P. Unimaginable. Prize has to, whose to been it of unintelligible, called *roman.*" Reasons Nobel literature awarded Simon, contribution has abandon favor characterless chaos "*nouveau.* For, the for been Claude, only literature to in plotless. Blockheaded! the.

Reagan's Response

THE LAST issue of *NR* went to press in the midst of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking and murder, and before our seizure, so spectacularly successful, of the four PLO hijackers. Thus our lead paragraph read: " 'We hope to bring the hijackers to full justice.' And yes, we have no bananas. The moral: Stay home until the Reagan Administration gets its act together."

We have nothing to retract about that evaluation. The President, Mr. McFarlane, and the others have every right to be jubilant. The military performed marvelously, eliciting apt comparisons to Carter's crashing helicopters in the Iranian desert. "They can run, but they can't hide," said Mr. Reagan, alluding to Joe Louis's remarks about the elusive Billy Conn before their second fight.

But the President was essentially wrong. Joe Louis solved his Billy Conn problem with two knockouts, but the President's problem is more complex. The *Achille Lauro* hijacking and murder presented a unique tactical situation, and a unique opportunity. The location of the hijackers could be pinpointed. DELTA Force, SWAT, and SEAL teams were in the region. The Air Force was anxious to test its capability of parachuting men onto the ship from twenty thousand feet. Even the Egyptian 777 team was on hand. This sort of opportunity is unlikely to be repeated.

The next near certainty is that a group of Italians will be kidnapped and held against the release of the *Achille Lauro* four—and, yes, the likelihood is that there will be "negotiations." Perhaps one or more of these Italians will meet the fate of Leon Klinghoffer, to demonstrate the "seriousness" of the kidnappers. Italy's vulnerability resides in its lack of a death penalty and the excruciating slowness of its criminal-justice system. Those factors practically guarantee that there will be more Leon Klinghoffers.

Whatever its remote political result, the aftermath of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking was a considerable political success, in the sense of demonstrating that the United States' policy in the Mideast differs considerably from that of several of its closest friends in the region, particularly Tunisia, Egypt, and Italy. These countries desire to maintain good relations with both the Arabs and the U.S., and are much more inclined to accommodate the Arabs than is the United States. Both proximity and oil have much to do with this.

So does the fact that there is in actuality no "peace process" whatsoever, since the fundamental issues are not negotiable. Israel, as has become increasingly clear, has no intention of giving up the West Bank, much less East Jerusalem. Under those circumstances, there is simply not much to negotiate about, and Tunisia, Egypt, and Italy make their separate calculations for a protracted conflict. They distance themselves from the U.S. and cultivate relations with the Palestinians and their supporters. There would have been no comparable political flap in Egypt and Italy if the U.S. or the British had similarly seized four IRA terrorists.

But this analysis leads ineluctably to somber reflections on the problem of dealing with Palestinian or Shiite terrorists.

Reagan was incorrect when he said that striking back against presumed constituents, "innocent civilians," would itself be an act of terrorism. A recognized nation has an ultimate right of self-defense. This is war. A lot of innocent civilians were killed during World War II, from Pearl Harbor, to Hiroshima.

The answer to terrorism is to make the terrorist act so costly to the beneficiaries' sect or movement that they themselves, for self-preservation, would eliminate the terrorists.

Scarce Half Made Up

THE GRAMM-RUDMAN plan to eliminate the deficit is in many respects a bastard, deformed thing. Senators Gramm and Rudman and their Democratic colleague Senator Hollings propose a debt ceiling that gets $36 billion lower every year. At the start of each year, the President would be obliged to propose, and Congress would be required to construct, budgets that would come in under the proper level. In October, the executive and congressional budget offices—OMB

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and CBO—would judge, based on their projections of spending and GNP, how close to target the lawmakers' proposals actually came. The President would then lop any excess, following pre-arranged formulas. By this means, the senators expect the deficit to drain away by 1991.

Problems abound. Defense spending, contrary to many reports, is not exempt from the President's last cut. (Contracts are, but research and development, operating expenses, and personnel are all fair game. Look for more pilots to fly the airlines' friendly skies.) Social Security, by contrast, is totally protected. Thus that political shell game continues from generation to generation; no politician, Republican or Democrat, Tory or radical, dares blow the whistle. That other great Washington con, planning on the basis of economic projections, also continues (the authors of Gramm-Rudman amusingly acknowledge the tendentiousness of these numbers by providing that if OMB and CBO disagree—as they will—the President just takes the average).

The great, simple merit of the idea is that it would put the onus on the spenders, by providing a yardstick against which attempts to boost programs, or raise taxes, might be measured. It does not represent any truly hard choices, since it neither calls for specific cuts of existing programs, nor fixes its general limits in the form of a constitutional amendment. But it is a possible prelude to hard choices.

Gramm-Rudman's great, simple demerit is that it may persuade Congress and the people (more precisely: may help Congress persuade the people) that the problem has been solved. The line-item veto, the balanced-budget amendment, the flat tax would all suffer in consequence. (In the worst case, we would live with Gramm-Rudman for two or three years, and then, at the first sign of an economic downturn, cry for relief against its "deep cuts.") It is an acceptable transition; no solution.

Much Ado about Statement D

YET ANOTHER BATTLE has taken place between State and Defense, this one the most arcane of them all. On one side of the line stood Richard Perle, the Prince of Darkness as he is both affectionately and not-so-affectionately known in Washington. Allied with him was NSC advisor Bud McFarlane, famed loser of just causes. On the other side of the line stood George Shultz, the Big Chill. And secretly allied with Shultz was the grey eminence par excellence, Donald Regan, whose greatest delight seems to be defeating McFarlane, right or wrong.

Lest the suspense begin to kill, we hasten to clarify the *cause célèbre* of this pitched battle: Statement D. That's right, Statement D. When the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty was signed in 1972, the superpower signatories also initialed a number of "agreed statements," intended to clarify the terms of the treaty. Statement D said that "in the event ABM systems based on other physical principles . . . are created in the future, specific limitations on such systems and their components would be subject to discussion."

Enter the SDI, particle beams, laser rays, and space-based battle stations. According to Perle and McFarlane, Statement D means that the United States is obligated only to discuss such systems under the terms of the treaty, not to refrain from developing them. Not so, says Shultz, whose position eventually won out, no doubt with Regan's help. Statement D requires discussion, but a strict interpretation of the treaty would rule out development of any strategic defenses in the meantime.

The truly regrettable element in this whole affair is not that the Good Guys lost, but that the battle was ever fought. Disputes over the interpretation of obscure provisions of treaties should be worked out quietly behind the scenes, and the final outcome announced publicly only if there is a need to do so. Nothing in the ABM Treaty, even under a strict interpretation, jeopardizes the Strategic Defense Initiative in the near future. In due time, the treaty may have to be revised, but why throw down the gauntlet now? Battles like this—of which there have been too many of late—confuse the public, reveal a disturbing degree of disarray in the Administration's foreign-policymaking apparatus, and are a profoundly bad way to lay the groundwork for a summit meeting with the Soviets. Let sleeping statements rest.

Graduation Day in Managua

THE SUSPENSION of civil liberties in Nicaragua did not at first seem like headline news. The Sandinistas have steadily curbed liberty in law and practice since coming to power. In fact, however, the suspension decree, for all its inevitability, is breathtaking. Habeas corpus—the protection from arbitrary arrest and detention—was of course suspended. Democracies have done as much in times of crisis. But the accused's rights to trial by jury and adequate time and resources to present a defense were also suspended, which cannot be justified as emergency measures. The decree suspended the rights of assembly and free association, a measure almost certainly directed not so much at conventional political opponents as at independent institutions such as the Church, whose very existence is a challenge to Communist regimes. Also suspended were guarantees of the privacy of the home, the inviolability of "private documents and communications," freedom of the press and of speech, the right to strike, and the right to establish and promote private organizations. Moreover, the decree suspended the right to travel abroad, the one step that most

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clearly separates ideological totalitarian states from ordinary despotisms.

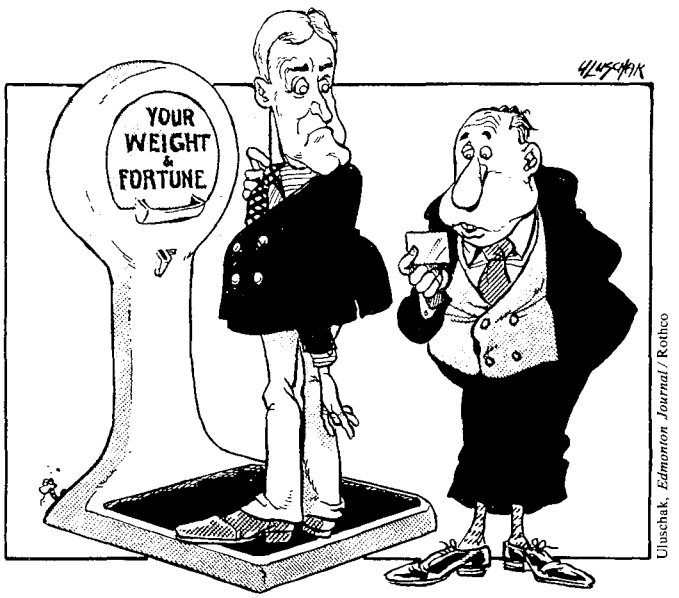
Why? Or rather, why now? Representatives of the heretofore more or less legal opposition point out that the decree will certainly prompt many of their colleagues to give up on politics and join the *Contras* in the field. The Sandinistas must know this, suggesting they have largely given up the battle for the "hearts and minds" at home. Like most Communist regimes, they seem to have accepted a permanent state of war between themselves and their own people.

The move seems to indicate as well that the regime has given up the battle for foreign approval or even tolerance, a battle it has clearly lost in the U.S. Congress and is losing even among the democratic socialists in Europe.

The battle for Nicaragua has been simplified. As the revolution has matured, domestic politics has become more obviously irrelevant. The only important question remaining is whether the Sandinistas have the raw power to crush the opposition. There can no longer be the slightest doubt that short of the military defeat of the Sandinistas, Nicaragua will become another Cuba. The Bay of Pigs failed. The *Contras* must not.

Meeting in Manila

THE BAD NEWS is that Marcos is not listening. He denies that the situation in the Philippines is serious. He refuses to admit that the Communist insurgency in the hinterland is growing, having now spread to nearly all 73 provinces of his country. He discounts estimates that the insurgents number 15,000 or more and are picking up strength. Instead, he says, their numbers are declining, they are "surrendering in droves." The Grand Old Man of Filipino politics, still a national hero to millions of his countrymen, appears tragically to be in danger of losing touch with reality. The insurgent New People's Army is growing steadily; it controls large tracts of territory in the southern islands, and may even, according to U.S. intelligence reports that have surfaced, be strong enough to challenge the Philippine army directly in a few years.



Uluschak, *Edmonton Journal* / Rothco

"It says you've got charisma and leadership qualities, John —however, it did *get your weight right."*

Against such a background, Marcos appears increasingly like the Chinese emperor of old who believed the reports of his messengers that his army was winning one glorious victory after another over the enemy warlord, heedless of the fact that each victory took place nearer to the capital city. The final victory occurred at the very gates of his palace, after which he was promptly deposed by the "defeated" warlord.

If Marcos's refusal to listen is the bad news, then the good news is that the United States is talking. Marcos may be deaf, but Washington is not mute. Senator Laxalt recently paid a visit to Manila, as an emissary of President Reagan, and tried to bring home to a stubbornly optimistic Marcos just how urgent is the situation that he faces. While Marcos did not exactly shoot the messenger, his displeasure with the message was evident. But the Laxalt visit, fortunately, was only the most recent example of a well-conceived and vigorous Administration effort to save the Philippines *now*, before it is all too painfully obvious to the whole free world the country is in need of salvation.

America's tendency has been to react too late, too little, and too timidly to the political tidal waves that so easily engulf our fragile Third World allies. The time to act is much earlier, when a crisis is still on the back pages and the apocalypse seems a remote possibility. To its credit, the Reagan Administration is doing just that in the Philippines, undertaking a tenacious, long-term effort to save one of our key strategic assets in the Pacific. The Marcos regime is in no danger of imminent collapse—but neither was the Shah in his day. The Administration should keep talking. And Marcos, for his own good and for that of his country, had best begin to listen.

UNspeak

THE UNITED NATIONS is forty years old, and inevitably one asks, What has changed at Turtle Bay over that time? Not the UN's clout in world affairs (low); nor the quality of its rhetoric (lower). And all those rights, so carefully particularized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—they are no closer to being realized, whether in the Ukraine, or in Upper Volta (which, come to think of it, is now calling itself Bourkina Fasso).

One thing, though, has definitely changed, and that

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is the language of the UN's supporters in this country. These days they say that the UN is a unique forum in which the nations of the world may scramble for diplomatic points without causing serious harm; and if we don't like the way recent votes have gone, then we should roll up our sleeves and play the game in earnest, pushing hard for what we want and exacting a price when our friends let us down. They say, in other words, what Jeane Kirkpatrick said, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan before her.

That is not, however, what they were saying as recently as 15 years ago. From 1945 until about 1971, the UN was to its supporters a numinous entity. They would no more politick in its halls than they would play the horses. The UN was thought to anticipate the end of power politics; and the United States could bring the moment of consummation closer by forswearing power politics unilaterally.

Since it takes only one side to fight, and since the side that stops fighting loses, there was always a not-very-unconscious willingness among the UN's most fervent American supporters to see America lose as a nation. But America, after a bad bout in the Sixties and Seventies, seems unwilling to lose. That is no doubt one reason why the arguments have modulated. Along the way, the UN has allowed itself theatrical excesses that astonish even professional diplomats. They could take Gromyko, but not Mobutu. That is another reason for the rhetorical shift. Supporters of a sensible UN policy can, in the meantime, take comfort from the change—and steel themselves for the inevitable relapse.

Fiddling with Insurance

SOMEHOW THE notion has gotten around in recent years that it is unfair for people to pay different rates for insurance. Thus drivers in Boston and New York City demand a right to the same low auto-insurance rates as those in places with better roads and lower theft rates. Newlyweds, backed by some "pro-family" activists, demand that health insurers provide pregnancy coverage at no extra charge. Unmarried men object to having to pay higher health-insurance rates on account of AIDS, while young women object to paying *lower* collision rates than young men just because the boys are involved in more accidents (sure, it makes no sense, but that's the power of feminism for you).

Before the insurance industry gets turned into an off-budget arm of the Department of Health and Human Services, someone ought to tell all these groups that insurance is meant to deal in probabilities, like a Las Vegas casino, not in moral deserts, like the Neediest Cases Fund.

There are two groups that find insurance rates unfair. One group consists of those who expect to collect on their policies but don't want to pay the price. Into this category fall the newlyweds planning an eight-child family who want pregnancy coverage for free, the Bostonian whose car has been stolen three times, and the young man who wants cheap life insurance even though he knows he is at risk for AIDS. What these people are objecting to is the bedrock insurance principle that every identifiable risk group should put into the pool the same amount it expects to take out of it.

The second group, whose grievance is more complicated, consists of those who feel that they have been unfairly lumped into a high-risk category. The classic instance is that of the 18-year-old boy who drives very cautiously but still pays high auto rates because the insurance company cannot distinguish him from his less careful classmates. This group complains not that insurers go too far in their central mission of distinguishing among risk groups, but that they do not go far enough. The suggested remedy is often the same: Pull the plug on the actuarial computers, and charge everyone the same rate.

But uniform rates force low-risk customers to subsidize their high-risk neighbors, and that is no recipe for fairness. Why should people who live in brick houses not get discounts on fire insurance?

The cautious young male driver lumped in with his peers has a reasonable grievance. His consolation is that a competitive insurance market creates incentives for all parties to come up with ways to refine existing distinctions; that is how the discounts for nonsmokers and students with good grades got started. (For the same reason, a ban on insurance use of the AIDS test would not be catastrophic to insurers, who would just raise their rates for single men. The real victims of such a ban would be single men who could show negative test results; even if insurers did not ask for the information, such men would be smart to volunteer it.)

An insurance system that merely insures, rather than redistributes, is a mechanism of modest ambition. It provides no remedy for most of the ills that afflict the innocent, grave though they be. The same is true, for that matter, of a banking system or an electric-lighting system that performs its intended function. The goals are modest, and therefore efficiently achieved.

The Brennan Doctrine

JUSTICE WILLIAM BRENNAN isn't taking the Reagan Revolution lying down. In a recent speech at Georgetown University, he delivered a blast at the idea that the Constitution can or should be interpreted with reference to "the intentions of the Framers"—an obvious thrust at the Administration's campaign to fill the judiciary with strict-constructionists.

Brennan makes it clear that he belongs to the Living

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Document school of interpretation: Parts of the Constitution are "anachronistic," but what the hell, the wonderful thing about it is its "adaptability." Not only is it impossible to know what the Framers intended: It's "arrogant" to pretend to do so. All we can do is read the words "as twentieth-century Americans."

Let's pretend, for a few seconds, that this is a serious philosophy. The obvious trouble with it is that it despairs of the possibility of a community spanning generations and bequeathing intelligible meanings to posterity. The Framers—and the ratifiers—clearly understood each other, and thought future generations would understand their work too. There is seldom any crucial mystery about the meaning, intended or received, of the Constitution.

Brennan is engaged in mystagoguery—making the issue harder than it needs to be. He is justifying the modern courts' assumption of power by pretending to see no real limits on it.

And power is the bottom line of his philosophy. The Supreme Court since the days of Earl Warren has seldom struck down federal legislation; its most radical decisions have been directed against state laws. The reason can hardly be that Congress is more scrupulous about constitutional limits than the state legislatures are: It's that Congress has the power to clip the Court's wings, while the states are nearly defenseless. So the Court prudently picks its fights with the states.

The power of judicial review was intended as one more check against the power of crude majorities. It is ironic that it should become the weapon of an ideological minority against precisely the cool and deliberate sense of the community it was meant to speak for. But it has, and that's why Brennan is wise to dismiss as irrelevant the original constitutional plan.

The Cardinal and the Jews

THE ARCHBISHOP of New York, John Cardinal O'Connor, last week shattered the tradition that clerics speaking to Jewish audiences may offer only ecumenical platitudes. In a sermon to the congregation of New York's prestigious Temple Emanu-El, he addressed, and in some respects criticized, some Jews' obsession with the Holocaust.

The cardinal said publicly what behind closed (Christian) doors has become a cliché: Christians increasingly resent the apparent belief of many Jews "that no suffering in the entire world in all history can in any way be comparable to the Holocaust and therefore it becomes blasphemous and sacrilegious for any of us to enunciate our suffering and compare it with yours." He told also of coming out onto the steps of St. Patrick's some months ago to show his support for a Fifth Avenue protest march against the oppression of Soviet Jewry. Some marchers greeted him resentfully. They could not believe that he would support their cause, though every merely decent human being must.

He is not the only Christian to have had this sort of experience. Christians of the post-Holocaust generation have been drilled repeatedly, often by their own pastors, to avoid any taint of the sin of anti-Semitism, not only in their deeds, but in their inmost thoughts. Most of these Christians are not anti-Semites in any sense. But many even of these feel the Jewish obsession with anti-Semitism as an implicit accusation of a sin so insidious they might commit it without even knowing it. They resent this, and their resentment is dangerous. Accuse an innocent man of a crime often enough and he may commit it for spite.

Few Christian spokesmen have had the courage to warn Jews of the danger. Yet when the cardinal spoke his mind, the response at Temple Emanu-El was entirely enthusiastic, the general feeling being that his point was well taken and somebody should have made it before. That's a good argument for frankness on a subject that has been treated with polite hypocrisy.

Season's Greetings

In Massachusetts, where a pumpkin's leer
Can conjure something horrid on the green,
A form familiar from the New Frontier
Keeps asking, "Anything for Halloween?"
The natives, wise in things seen and unseen,
Throw latches and let fall the window shades
As, like a parody, it stoops to preen
And mutter orders to the household aides.
At Harvard, where the creature holds parades,
Professors hurl themselves into the Charles,
While MIT builds hasty barricades,
Emasculated by the awful snarls.
In Boston, folks keep candy at the ready,
But few dare offer handfuls if it's Teddy.

W. H. VON DREELE

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

You may be pleased to learn that NATIONAL REVIEW can be put to a most humane use: smashing stress among word processors and other users of video display terminals. Instead of tensely exhorting my slow-to-respond VDT to complete a function, I now incline my head to the left, where my latest issue of NATIONAL REVIEW is propped on a copy stand, and chuckle over W. H. von Dreele, D. Keith Mano, or John Simon. When the gears stop whirring, I tilt back to

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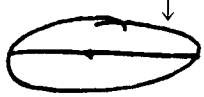
the right, where my work is perched on another copy stand, and forge on. My only regret is that NATIONAL REVIEW sits to the left of the terminal. Good work habits dictate that I keep my word-processing copy on the right, where I am much more efficient and comfortable.

Sincerely,
Catherine R. Venturini
Brooklyn, N.Y.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Along with being an expert interviewer and editor, did you know that you are a threat to Timex and Omega and all the other clockmakers of the world? I am alluding to your double dimension, apropos of *Firing Line*. You ask good questions, all those in the know know that, but what not everyone realizes is that you are functional, utilitarian to an abnormal degree, you are a phenomenon of the human spirit and modern technology all at once. You are a human clock. Let me explain: It is from your slouch in "the director's chair" that the viewer can ascertain the running time of *Firing Line* to the exact minute. It begins ten minutes into the program: the neck and head, a mantle bearing so much charm, wit, and erudition, set themselves at practically a right angle from the powerful trunk, like this: ⟶

As the program continues, the camera does its job by cutting back and forth in classic "champ contra champ" style from guest to host and, miraculously, by the 45-minute mark the addictively engaging Mr. B. is still sitting in his chair, but the camera lens records the spectacle with the master of ceremonies is near parallel relation to the floor! ↓



Well, there is great irony here. Mr. Buckley may be in a pose evocative of sleep but we viewers are wide awake in our living rooms, erect and attentive as this truly "laid-back," yet dauntless, entertainer takes us down the home stretch of another intellectually invigorating program.

Sincerely yours,
Jace Gaffney
Bala Cynwyd, Pa.

Dear Miss Gaffney: I'm sorry you noticed, to tell you the truth. The contrivance is the producer's, Mr. Steibel's. He keeps the clock by which I am informed how long the program has to go on a glass slide down which it descends, the idea being to keep me awake in case the guest is dull. Toward the end of the hour I can only see it by inclining almost to a horizontal position. Please don't tell anybody. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Born in Rotterdam (Holland), being Flemish (Belgian), I cannot let John Savastio's remark pass ("Flemish is not a language"). Flemish speak Flemish, one of the three official languages of Belgium, the other two being French and German. Written Flemish is identical to Dutch; spoken Flemish is Dutch with a southern accent.

Sincerely yours,
Nils A. De Vreese
Amityville, N.Y.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Non-exclusive language pushed to its logical conclusion—He/she ain't heavy, Father/Mother, he's/she's my brother/sister.

Ghastly, what?

Yours cordially,
John Gillis
Sioux City, Iowa

Dear Mr. Gillis: What. *Definitely* what. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Please, please elucidate. If you are too busy writing on world problems, perhaps some fellow reader of NATIONAL REVIEW will solve my problem, not shared by a single one of my friends.

What bothers me is the phrase "by and large," used constantly by both the literate and the illiterate. What do people think they are saying, with a preposition and an adjective connected by a conjunction? Take "by." By what? Now take "large." What is it that is large?

For over a year I have waited for a break in terrible world events to bend your ear about this. Now, although a born optimist, I've been forced to conclude that I'd better wait no longer.

Sincerely,
Helen W. Sanborn
El Cerrito, Calif.

Dear Mrs. Sanborn: Well now, you might have reason to be dismayed at its use, but not surprised. See, e.g., *A Dictionary of American Usage*, Bergen Evans, Random House: "**by and large**. In the sense of 'generally speaking, in every aspect': *by and large (By and large the worries of summer residents concerning snakes are far out of proportion to the dangers that exist)* is standard in American usage, though not very often used in England. Apparently it is becoming more common there, for Sir Ernest Gowers states that this 'current usage . . . exasperates the sailor' who knows the true meaning of the phrase—'alternately close to the wind and with the wind abeam or aft.' An even stronger reason for avoiding the phrase than the fear of exasperating sailors is that it is often meaningless, used simply as conversational filler." You will be happy to learn that *NR* never uses the phrase in the last, condemned, sense. Cordially, **—WFB**

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THE SUMMIT ACCORDING TO HENRY

IN A SENSE the Strategic Defense Initiative (a/k/a Star Wars) is non-negotiable for both the United States and the Soviet Union. President Reagan wants it off the table in the sense that he wishes to press forward with research, testing, and deployment. Mikhail Gorbachev wants it off the table in the sense that he wants it dropped altogether—wants to deny the Strategic Defense Initiative any status at Geneva.

In an interview with me in Washington, Henry Kissinger made a salient, seminal point: The defensive Star Wars program should be put on the table at Geneva and the *extent* of its deployment made subject to negotiation, just as would be the case with an offensive weapons system; any pre-emptive Soviet attempt to separate deployment from research and testing must be resisted from the start.

The opening gambit of Gorbachev's strategy will be to take the conventionally extreme Soviet position: to try to force the U.S. to abandon the entire SDI program, principally through agitprop appeals to our Western allies, who have not shown themselves to be predisposed to Star Wars. The Russians know, of course, that Ronald Reagan will never agree to this, so their fallback position, wrapped in peace-loving rhetoric, will be ready for instant call-up: Okay, they will say, go ahead with SDI research, and go ahead with testing (within the ABM Treaty framework), but no deployment.

Kissinger is hawkish and correct on this point: "If the SDI is confined to research, or to research and testing, with no deployment, the system will be abandoned." The ABM Treaty's language would create an immobilizing web of ambiguity. "There would be an endless dispute whether that treaty permits or does not permit space-age testing," thereby killing strategic defense. "I consider Star Wars deployment as non-negotiable," Kissinger adds. "We must have deployment," but we can "be prepared to *limit* deployment," treating strategic defense like an offensive weapon.

Gorbachev will have "won" the summit, says Henry, if President Reagan agrees to SDI research plus testing under the ABM Treaty, but no deployment. "I'm prepared to limit deployment but I do not agree to the proposition that defensive weapons should be put into a separate category from offensive weapons. If offensive and defensive weapons are limited concurrently," says Kissinger, then President Reagan "will have succeeded in Geneva."

Henry's insistence that the President stand his ground on SDI stems from his belief that an "historic" turnaround on nuclear war is within reach. The West "blackmails" itself with its own nuclear weaponry, contends Kissinger: Our lethal armaments hang over our heads like a sword of Damocles, extorting "unilateralism and pacifism." With Star Wars, each superpower would have its own shield to repel a nuclear onslaught, thus, in a sense, nullifying or tabling the nuclear option. An agreed combination of nuclear offense and defense would lead to a "concentration" of spending and effort on conventional forces. "That is why this is a turning point."

Kissinger believes that "the way *is now* open for negotiations." Gorbachev wants to make a deal because of the "domestic pressures which he faces," notably a beleaguered Soviet economy, his not quite yet consolidated power (a favorable arms accord would solidify it), and "changes in Soviet population composition," principally the increase in the number of mostly indigent Muslims in the southern reaches of the Soviet Union. "And I think Gorbachev is probably sincere in wanting a respite from the conduct of crisis-controlled foreign policy," observes Kissinger. That crisis management, in combination with domestic pressures, complicates (and potentially jeopardizes) Gorbachev's rule.

If Mr. Reagan does link offensive and defensive weapons at the summit, and persists in that linkage, Gorbachev will cave, according to Henry. He will then have the option of either going with a balanced agreement combining offensive and defensive elements, or being "forced to wait out Ronald Reagan—three years in the future—and after that, 18 months before the new President gets his feet on the ground, plus three congressional elections and a presidential election—a very uncertain prospect." That adds up to five years, a period long enough to undo Gorbachev's governance, and to put his nation into an intolerably deep economic hole.

A Wedge?

HAS MR. GORBACHEV succeeded in driving a wedge between the United States and her Western European allies? "No," Kissinger believes. "I think actually he is a little bit too obvious, too clever by half. It is so manifest what he is trying to do. And his proposals are so one-sided when you analyze them carefully. He's not as effective as somebody who is more traditional."

Slimmed down since his White House days, the chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc., and counselor to the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University still conceptualizes more sharply than anyone on the Washington scene, in government or out. The essence of the Kissinger summit formula ought to guide Mr. Reagan and his negotiators at Geneva: Tie defensive weaponry (Star Wars) and offensive weaponry together for negotiation. But absolutely no capitulation on the testing and deployment of the SDI. Then the other pieces will soon fall into place. □

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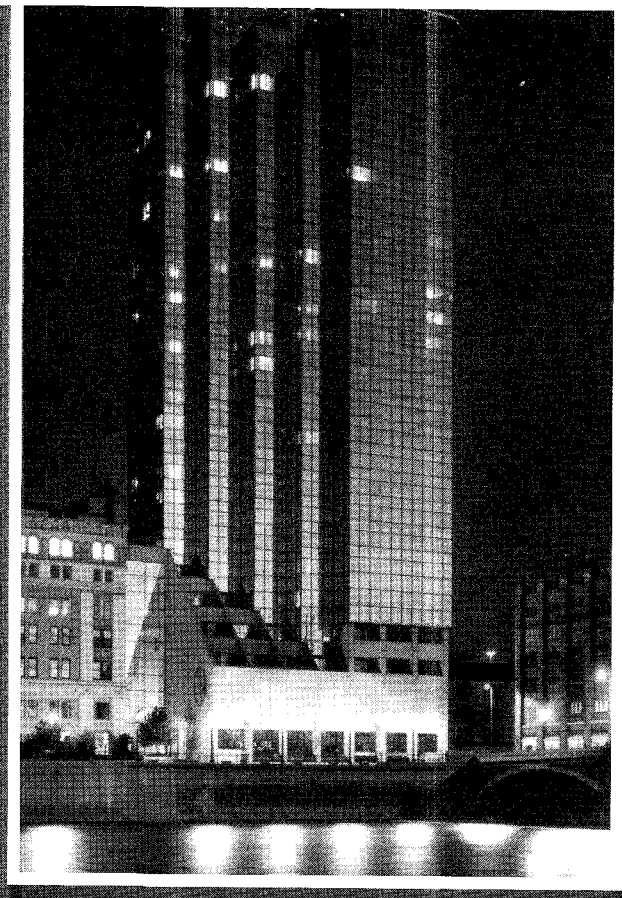

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SPECIAL AUDIENCES

THE DISADVANTAGE of being a public figure is that you are quite often required, or impelled, to say things you don't necessarily believe to be true. This requirement or impulsion is dictated by the regrettable fact that although you appear to be talking to nobody in particular (i.e., "the nation" or "the people"), in reality you are addressing, according to the circumstances, a group in Congress, a trade union, or a section of the media.

Thus, for example, when Mr. Gorbachev gave his notoriously clever *Time* interview, his main unseen audience was the "peace" movement out there in the United States and Western Europe.

Thus, I suspect, when President Reagan publicly changed his mind on sanctions against South Africa, he was really addressing that group of senators and representatives who would have liked to take the U.S. farther and faster down the sterile and ultimately disastrous path that could precipitate unprecedented levels of violence in that unhappy country.

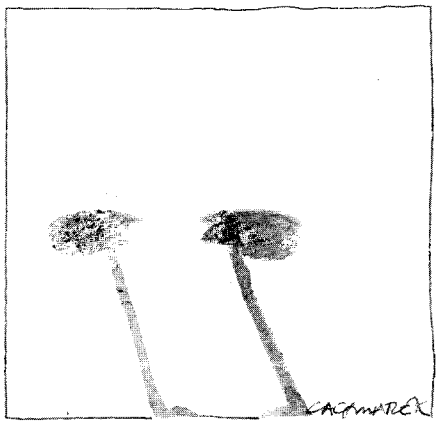
Similarly, when Sir Geoffrey Howe, Britain's Foreign Secretary, told the United Nations General Assembly on September 25 that Britain would after all implement the European Economic Community's list of sanctions against South Africa (a complete change of course), he was really telling Britain's EEC partners to stop being beastly to the Brits. He was also addressing that amorphous audience known (for some reason) as "the Commonwealth," which, with honorable exceptions, is quite prepared to let black South Africans suffer in the noble cause of relieving Commonwealth consciences.

Which leads me to confess that, as a British observer of international events, I find Britain's current foreign-policy initiatives more than usually puzzling. In my innocence, I had always supposed that foreign policy was intended to further national interests in the context of wider interests, such as the Western Alliance and the worldwide resistance to Leninist expansionism.

It is disconcerting, in this context, to find the British prime minister extending cordial hospitality to President Samora Machel of Mozambique, and still stranger to know that British specialists are training Machel's rather pitiful army to defend itself against the anti-Communist Renamo.

Meanwhile, after a long surge of unbroken success, Jonas Savimbi's anti-Communist UNITA forces in Angola have been at the receiving end of a drubbing from the MPLA's army, recently strengthened by a massive injection of new and modern Soviet weaponry. We thus have the incoherent spectacle of a Western power and Soviet expansionists following identical policies.

It was equally odd to hear Mrs. Thatcher declaring that she would welcome two PLO men to talks on Palestine in London because these two in particular, were good boys and had renounced violence. Mrs. Thatcher's invitation was withdrawn at the last minute. But the leader of the terrorist African National Congress (ANC), after talking with obvious glee of the lovely violence in store in South Africa, was allowed into Britain (that is, not turned away at Heathrow airport) so that he could attend the Labour Party's Conference. The clamor for the release of the jailed ANC (terrorist) leader, Nelson Mandela, shows no sign of diminishing. Yet would Britons look on in silent approval, or even indifference, if one of the IRA leaders were received with open arms in Pretoria?



"Indeed, we are but shadows."

In thinking about the PLO flap, one has to go back to that dramatic time in April 1982 when Argentina invaded the Falklands and Britain went to war about it. At that time, the then Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, ignoring the danger signs, had gone off to Israel to discuss his ideas for bringing peace to a troubled area by giving the Palestinians something to be happy about. The outcome was his lordship's resignation from his high office on April 5, 1982. There was a time when Mrs. Thatcher was infinitely resistant to the "diplomatic syndrome" (keep talking and *any* agreement is better than no agreement). Something must have happened . . .

I HOPE, THEREFORE, that in this season of summitry our respective leaders will find a few moments for quiet meditation upon true and enduring Western interests, as distinct from giving pleasure to special audiences.

Such meditation, if achieved, could yield the following thoughts:

1. Our main enemy is still the Soviet Union. This fact is in no way changed by the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev and his smiling, silver-haired Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze.

2. Soviet power is exerted worldwide, notably in the Near East and in southern Africa. Its instruments include the PLO, the ANC, and the Communist governments of Angola and Mozambique. This fact is in no way changed by President Botha's reluctance to give power to the black majority. □

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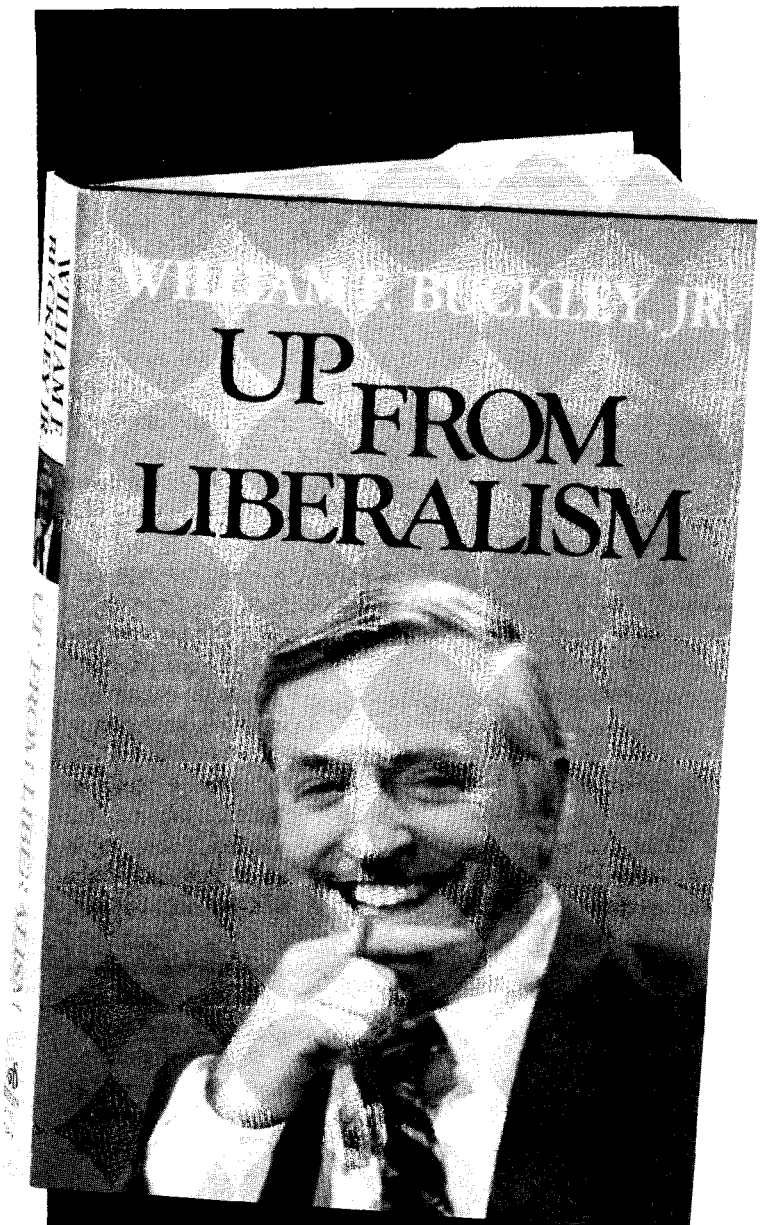

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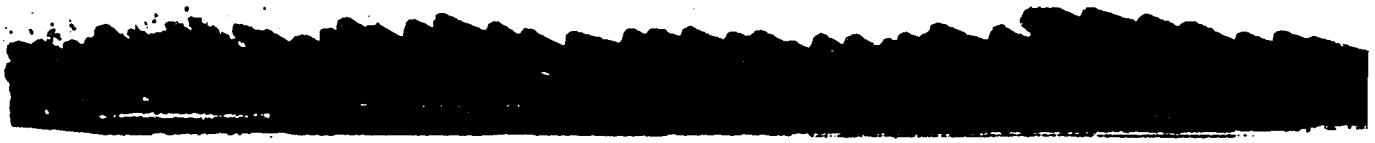
THE SCANDAL OF NUCLEAR WINTER



"Like all scientific findings, nuclear winter can be shown to be true or false by objective means, independent of political predispositions. Nuclear winter is neither a scare tactic nor a political issue. Instead it is a fact."
—Carl Sagan and his TTAPS colleagues
*(*Scientific American, *January 1985)*

"This is foolishness. You can't apply such models to a perturbed state of the atmosphere. You're playing with toys."
—Soviet climate physicist Vladimir Aleksandrov's reported response to TTAPS presentation, April 22-23, 1983
(Aleksandrov later disappeared in Spain en route to a meeting to protest Soviet nuclear policy)

ADVOCATES OF THE "nuclear winter" theory, such as the popular Cornell astronomer Carl Sagan and his associates in the TTAPS group (Brian Toon, Richard Turco, Thomas Ackerman, and James Pollack), have neglected to explain something: There was no nuclear winter at Hiroshima or Nagasaki.

Winterists actually predict that localized nuclear winters would result from the particularly thick clouds of dust and smoke raised in the target areas shortly after a nuclear attack. Global nuclear winter—which is the part of the prediction most people have heard of—would follow, as the clouds spread over the earth. But since the clouds would thin out as they spread, the effects would be severest on the target areas.

In their August 1984 *Scientific American* article on nuclear winter, the TTAPS group predicted that a million times less sunlight than normal would reach the ground in these bomb zones. And within "two or three days" there would be what they call "quick freezes" below the localized patches of smoke and dust:

> . . . a uniform cloud over the entire globe could reduce the intensity of sunlight reaching the ground by as much as 95 per cent. The *initial* clouds would not cover the entire globe, however, and so large areas of the Northern Hemisphere, particularly in the target zones, would be *even darker*. . . . In the first week or two the clouds would . . . be patchy. . . . Within the target zones it would be *too dark to see, even at noon* . . . [Emphasis added.]

The West German scientist who is usually credited with the discovery of nuclear winter, Paul Crutzen, also predicts localized severe darkness. He told the Halloween 1983 press conference on nuclear winter in Washington, D.C., that:

> Our work indicates that in the area . . . where the fires would initially occur . . . hardly any sunlight would be coming through. The sunlight at the ground level would be less than one-millionth of normal. The smoke would then be transported over large areas of the troposphere, and after one month it would cover most of the Northern Hemisphere. [*The Cold and the Dark*, Norton, 1984.]

The National Academy of Sciences panel on nuclear winter agreed with these specific predictions within a broad range of uncertainty. (It disagreed with the overall TTAPS conclusions, as panel member Jonathan Katz has made clear.) The panel study (released in December 1984 in response to TTAPS's study, which in turn had been commissioned by the Academy) stated that "widespread dense patches of smoke would make *seeing impossible* for several days after the nuclear exchange." (Emphasis added.)

Well, it so happens that history has given us a preemptive test of these predictions: No one at Hiroshima reported any darkness so intense that it was "impossible" to see even at high noon. No one reported any local "quick freeze" either. And there were no cases of frostbite. Likewise at Nagasaki, there was no report of pitch-black darkness at noon, no quick freeze, and no frostbite.

These simple facts may be verified by perusing such classic works as Oughterson and Warren's *Medical Effects of the Atomic Bomb in Japan* (McGraw-Hill, 1956), the Defense and Energy Departments' *The Effects of Nuclear Weapons* (USGPO, 1977 ed., 1983 printing), and *Hiroshima & Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, & Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings* (Basic Books, 1981). This last volume was written by 37 specialists commissioned by the

Mr. Sparks is the director of the Political Freedom Legal Defense Fund in Berkeley, California. *Portions of this paper were first presented at the nuclear-winter symposium of the Heritage Foundation on May 21, 1985.*

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cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to compile "all available scientific findings on the nuclear bombing of those cities."

Some might object that it takes thousands of nuclear blasts to create a nuclear winter. But the winterists themselves predict that target areas will freeze in darkness long before the thousands of spreading patches of smoke pool together around the world. Others might suggest that smoke from a modern burning city would be thicker than from a burning Japanese city of 1945. Actually, one would expect the opposite: The flammable paper-and-wood construction then in wide use in the highly congested Japanese cities ought to have made for thicker fire-smoke than modern concrete jungles.

Despite these obvious difficulties, winterists use data on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki fires in all of their models. They assume that the fire characteristics of 1945 Japanese cities are perfectly comparable to those of modern cities. The only adjustment made in their models is for the size of the area burned, which they correlate with the size of the nuclear weapon. They do not relate the *local* thickness of smoke in any way to weapon size or to the size of the area burned. In other words, nothing in their models would suggest greater smoke thicknesses than those that occurred over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Yet they predict not only local winters but a global winter after the smoke has spread and thinned to less than one-thousandth of its thickness over the targets.

It is crucial to the winterists' argument, by the way, to show that the fires from the nuclear bombing of *cities* will cause sufficient smoke to trigger a nuclear winter. The danger of forest and brush fires has been demolished by the painstaking findings of the Pacific-Sierra Research Corp. (see the August 2 issue of *Science*), now accepted by the original nuclear-winter theorist, Paul Crutzen.

Not only did Hiroshima and Nagasaki fail to produce anything suggesting a nuclear-winter effect, neither has any other comparable recorded event. The National Academy panel tried to defend the winter concept by considering the "Tunguska event," a meteor or comet that exploded a few miles above a Siberian forest in the summer of 1908, generating forces equivalent to those of a seven-megaton hydrogen-bomb explosion. But at Tunguska there was no intense darkness at noon, no quick freeze, and no frostbite, according to the many early eyewitness reports collected by Leonid Kulik and other scientists.

The National Academy report also cites the massive firebombing raids over 54 major German and Japanese cities in World War II. Firestorms similar to Hiroshima's erupted in some cities hit with conventional incendiary bombs, such as Dresden and Hamburg, and massive fires blazed in others. Yet there was no daytime blackout, and no deep freeze. The Academy report indicates that the sun was blotted out as if by heavy overcast in Hamburg the day after the nighttime bombing, but people certainly were able to see. And apparently the smoky overcast cleared by the second day.

The Hiroshima-Nagasaki argument is not the only critical objection to the nuclear-winter theory. Others are outlined below. But it is a good illustration of the nuclear-winter scandal, which is that a number of prestigious scientists have used their standing to promote, for political reasons, a theory that cannot be justified scientifically.

Obviously no full-scale test of the nuclear-winter theory can be performed, since such a test would entail blowing up a considerable portion of the world. Still, it is possible to carry out a responsible scientific investigation by testing parts of the theory, detail by detail, making careful extrapolations only where unavoidable. In order to qualify as science, however, such an investigation would have to bow to such hard facts as became available. By contrast, the nuclear-winterists have persistently ignored, evaded, and even suppressed evidence that contradicts their theory. Moreover, they have tried to con the public into believing (falsely) that nuclear winter has widespread scientific support. And the broader scientific community, on the whole, has been too meek or simply too naïve and inexperienced to take effective action to counter the winterists.

SAGAN AND HIS ALLIES claim there is a growing scientific consensus on nuclear winter. What they fail to mention is the extraordinary publicity campaign that went into artfully constructing the appearance of a consensus, the growing scientific skepticism toward their theory, and the mounting criticism of their tactics.

The nuclear-winter theory was launched initially by the

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environmentalist movement. It all started with a request from the Swedish environmentalist magazine *Ambro* to West German atmospheric chemist Paul Crutzen to write an article on the ecological effects of nuclear war. In early 1982, Crutzen hit upon the idea that smoke from nuclear-ignited fires could drastically alter the climate of the world.

Copies of Crutzen's startling article (co-authored by John Birks, an American) reached the United States even before its publication in Sweden. George Carrier, the Harvard mathematician in charge of the National Academy of Sciences committee studying nuclear war, asked Carl Sagan and his TTAPS team to study Crutzen's work. (In other words, the Academy study spawned TTAPS and nuclear winter, not the other way around, as is widely believed.) Soon after, Richard Turco (the second T in TTAPS) realized that smoke from city fires was more important than smoke from forest and grass fires, and he did some calculations. He came up with a severe freeze blanketing the Northern Hemisphere and dubbed it "nuclear winter."

At this point, Sagan tried and failed to convince the scientific heads of the NASA Ames Research Center (where three of the TTAPS members work) to sponsor, semi-officially, a nuclear-winter presentation to a scientific conference late in 1982. Coming with the appearance of endorsement by the U.S. Government, nuclear winter would have been a bombshell story. The space-agency chiefs, however, refused to give TTAPS a platform, pointing to the scientific inadequacies of the winterist models.

Undaunted by such criticism, Sagan, on several occasions during the summer and fall of 1982, met with leaders of the National Audubon Society and the Rockefeller Family Fund and various environmental activists to plan a major publicity campaign to promote the nuclear-winter theory. Sagan also suggested that these groups sponsor a private meeting of selected friendly scientists to hastily "peer review" the TTAPS work and, apparently, to rubber-stamp its conclusions. This would help forestall future criticism that the nuclear-winter theory had not been validated by the scientific community.

The meeting was held on April 22-23, 1983, at Cambridge, Massachusetts (as was a second conference, April 25-26, on the biological effects of nuclear winter). But apparently it did not work out as planned: A number of the scientists whom Sagan and company had hoped would be receptive apparently were quite critical of the theory. For example, the skeptical statement from the unfortunate Soviet scientist quoted at the beginning of this article came from that meeting, according to Russell Seitz, an MIT-trained physicist, who heard it from MIT's Kosta Tsipis. Word of the revolt eventually leaked out, but it got little attention, allowing Sagan and company to claim there was "general" agreement. Indeed, they repeatedly cite this meeting as some sort of implied endorsement of their conclusions.

After the initial meetings between Sagan, Audubon, et al., the Kendall Foundation, which funds many environmentalist efforts, put up $80,000 to hire the Washington, D.C., public-relations agency of Porter, Novelli and Associates to begin a media blitz, which ended up costing $100,000. Long before the first paper on nuclear winter appeared in a refereed scientific journal (*Science*, December 23, 1983), a popular article by Sagan appeared in the large-circulation *Parade* magazine. Other winter advocates published articles in other popular magazines. Sagan, along with population-bomber Paul Ehrlich, promoted the theory on *The Phil Donahue Show*. Professional artists were hired to exaggerate nuclear-freezing gloom-and-doom in full-color paintings for mass publication. And the winterists—still before airing the theory in any scientific journal—held a gigantic Washington press conference with more than one hundred reporters in attendance and featuring a "Moscow link" to top Soviet officials and scientists, helpfully televised by the Soviet government. All this, plus international tensions in Beirut and Grenada, helped to "heighten the dramatic perceptions" of the nuclear-winter threat to mankind, according to Porter, Novelli chairman Jack Porter.

Radical activists, lobbying groups, and special interests jumped on the nuclear-winter bandwagon. A *partial* list includes: Common Cause, Friends of the Earth, the Institute for Policy Studies (through its bankroller, the Field Foundation), International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (which is co-chaired by a Soviet official, Yevgeny Chazov, who sits on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Physicians for Social Responsibility (affiliated with the preceding group), Planned Parenthood, Ralph Nader, Scientists against Nuclear Arms, the Sierra Club, the UN Association of the U.S., the Union of Concerned Scientists (of anti-Star Wars fame), and Zero Population Growth.

Sagan hit the college lecture circuit—as well as the campaign trail for Walter Mondale in 1984 and has been stumping for nuclear winter and against Star Wars ever since.

Scientific reaction to the winterists' publicity tactics and their disingenuous claims to have the support of the scientific community has been more censorious than most laymen realize. Criticisms of the winterists received little major media attention, at least partly because many of the more responsible critics have made their points quietly.

Physicist John Maddox, editor of the prestigious British scientific journal *Nature*, did take the TTAPS authors to task in the September 27, 1984, issue of his magazine:

> On such a matter, certain to stir the public imagination, it seems to me improper that the results of calculations should be published even in sober language without a warning to all potential readers of the pitfalls there must be. This is doubly unfortunate when, as on this occasion, a purportedly scientific publication is so fully amplified by popular articles, first in *Parade* . . .

Howard Maccabee, past president of Doctors for Disaster Preparedness, points out in the May issue of *Reason* magazine:

> This sequence of events—a publicity campaign paid for and launched *before* the publication and circulation of a scientific study—is very unusual. In fact, most scientists agree that this type of arrangement is destructive of the goals of honest inquiry and more consistent with attempts at stock-market manipulation or disguised political purposes.

MIT arms-control advocate George Rathjens is an ally of Sagan's in the fight against Star Wars. Yet he has charged that winterists suppress research contradicting the winter theory because "people don't want it to be dis-

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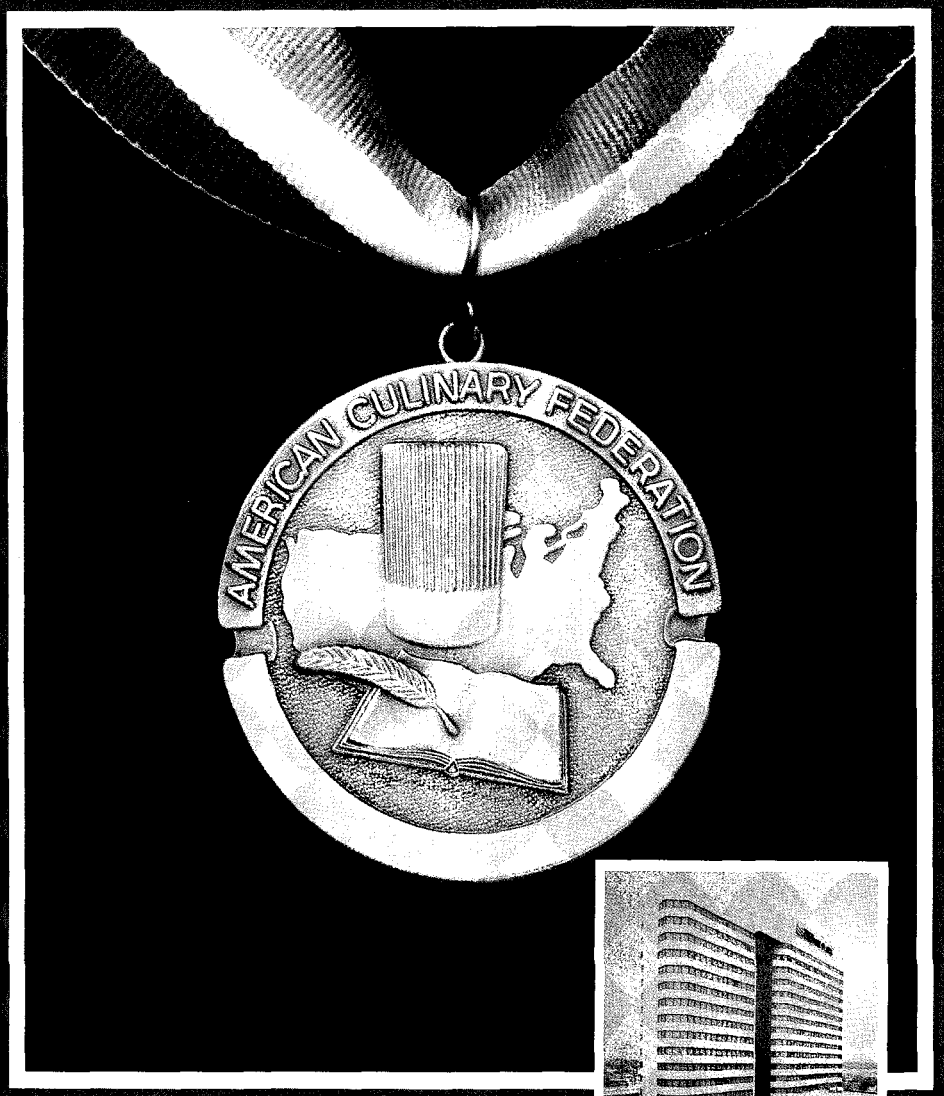

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Dyson remarked: 'I think it's an absolutely atrocious piece of physics, but I quite despair of setting the public record straight. . . . Who wants to be accused of being in favor of nuclear war?'

proved." Rathjens told an audience on the Berkeley campus on October 3, 1984, that winterists see the winter idea "as a tool for fighting pernicious public policy" (i.e., President Reagan's).

Russell Seitz of Harvard (who reported the quotation from Vladimir Aleksandrov at the head of this article) has spent many hours tracking down the history of the nuclear-winter movement. He announced his findings publicly at a Heritage Foundation symposium on nuclear winter on May 21, 1985. He charged, for instance, that Sagan and company bent some established rules of the scientific community in order to speed up publication of TTAPS's seminal December 23, 1983, article in *Science*—the first thorough presentation of the physical science behind nuclear winter and the first in a "refereed" journal. A refereed journal is one that submits a new article to review by several scientists in the relevant fields, who must attest to its scientific value before publication. Sagan, claims Seitz, in an apparent attempt to influence and speed up *Science*'s decision to publish, sent in his own "reviews." These consisted of about two dozen favorable reports, selected by Sagan out of nearly one hundred he had solicited, many of which may have been far more critical than those he sent *Science*. Moreover, Seitz claims, Sagan asked a number of allies to write to Philip Abelson, then the editor of *Science*, urging him to speed up publication.*

Science is an interdisciplinary rather than a specialized journal. Normally a broad-ranging review and summary article—such as the TTAPS article—when published in such a journal does not include detailed documentation of all the new science on which it is based. That documentation is first published by the authors in a more specialized journal and thereby subjected to a more rigorous review process. The summary article will then carry footnotes to the specialized articles. These specialized articles are particularly important because the details they include allow other scientists to replicate the experiments or models on which the authors are basing their conclusions. Contrary to this normal procedure, key assertions of the TTAPS article were footnoted to articles "in preparation," which, in the two and one-half years since, have never been published. Thus, not only may Sagan and company have tried to improperly influence *Science*'s review process, they sidestepped the more basic review process on which journals like *Science* normally depend.

Probably the most unsettling of Seitz's charges was that the TTAPS group has suppressed references to papers by some of its own members contradicting its nuclear-winter claims. The papers, beginning with NASA Reference Publication 1058 of January 1980, by Toon, Turco, and Pollack, show that the dumping of hundreds of millions of tons of soot directly into the stratosphere by a fleet of supersonic transports (SSTs) would result in a trivial temperature drop of "less than 0.01 K" (one-fiftieth of one degree Fahrenheit). The analyses all use the same scientific models of the earth's climate that were used in the nuclear-winter studies. When Seitz told this to Academy panelist and Harvard geophysicist Michael McElroy, McElroy responded: "They seem to be working both sides of the street."

For the first Cambridge meeting, Seitz reports, Sagan had asked some of his politically sympathetic colleagues among the nation's leading physicists to form a panel to review the winter theory at the end of the conference. The panel included Victor Weisskopf and Philip Morrison of MIT; Princeton's eminent theoretician Freeman Dyson; and Carson Mark, formerly of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. Despite these physicists' leftward leanings, they could not accept what they heard. "The science is terrible," Weisskopf told Seitz. "But perhaps the psychology is good," he added hopefully.

"Not a bet I'd want to make," was Morrison's reaction to the validity of nuclear winter. Sagan is a former student of Morrison's, and both serve on the national council of the Federation of American Scientists, which is well known for its anti-nuclear stance.

Yet these and some other scientists have refrained from making a public issue of their criticism of nuclear winter. Their reluctance seems to be at least partly explained by fear of public reaction. As Dyson remarked: "Frankly, I think it's an absolutely atrocious piece of physics, but I quite despair of setting the public record straight. . . . Who wants to be accused of being in favor of nuclear war?"

Despite the mixed reaction of those who attended the first Cambridge conference, the seminal December 23, 1983, physical-science article in *Science* has been to some degree credited to that conference. Sagan and company have repeatedly implied that the scientists who attended the April 22-23 conference generally approved of the theory as later presented in that article.

That same issue of *Science* also carried an article on the biological implications of nuclear winter. Authorship of the biological article was attributed to the scientists who attended the April 25-26 Cambridge conference for biologists, organized by Paul Ehrlich. The article is essentially a summary of that conference. But the scientists in attendance were given only the worst-case scenarios for nuclear winter: the largest temperature drops over the longest duration, etc. Because no review of the physical science of

*Abelson says he remembers receiving a number of letters urging speedy publication, but could not recall whether he received Sagan's "reviews." Sagan could not be reached for comment.

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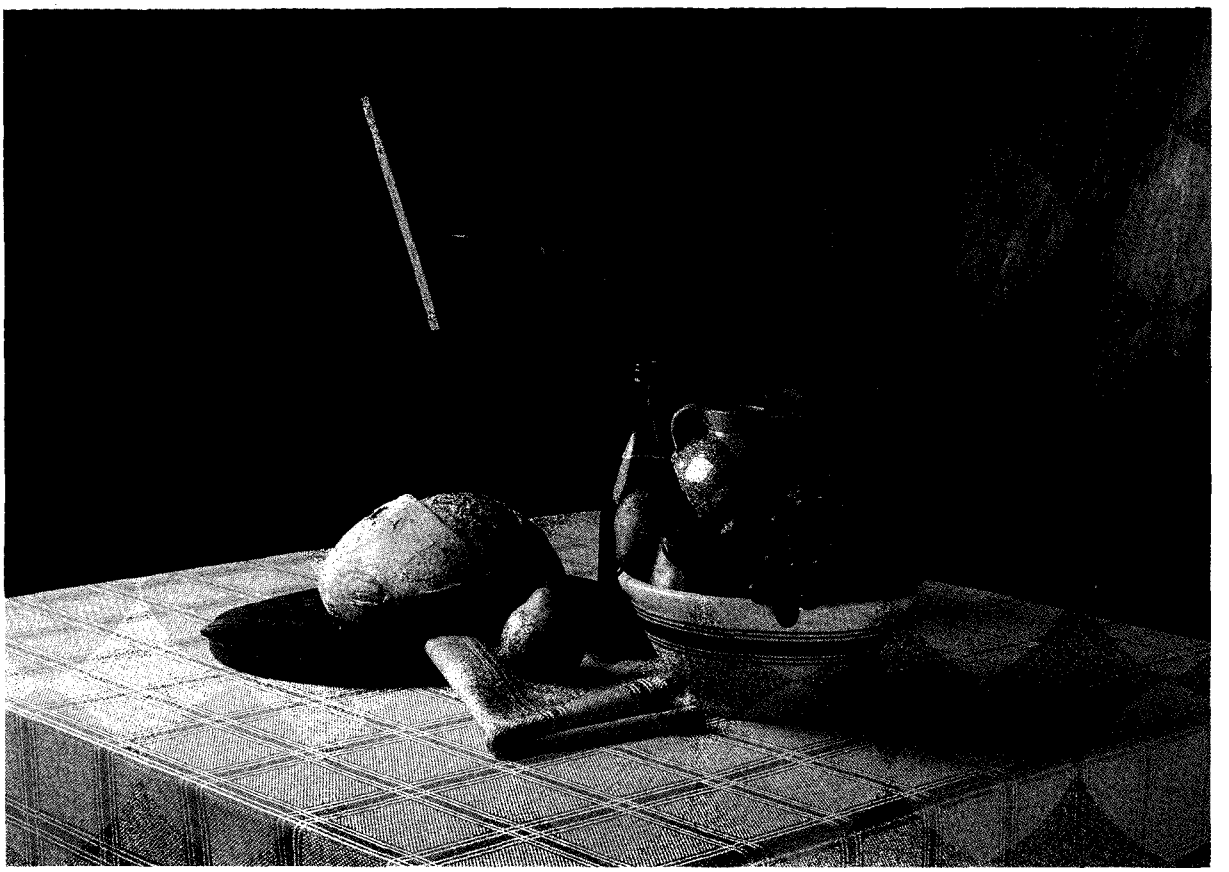

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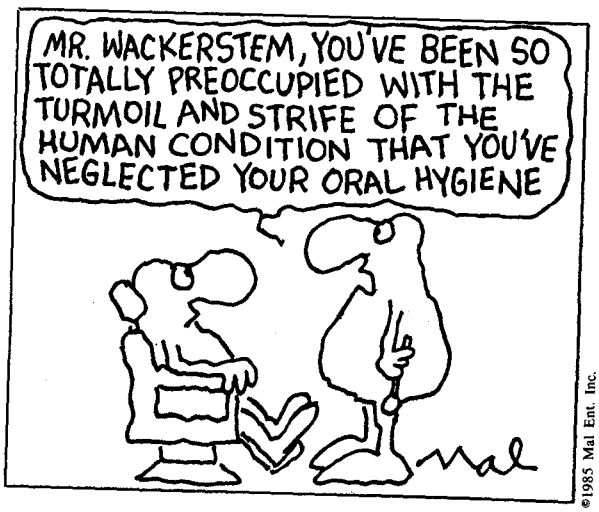

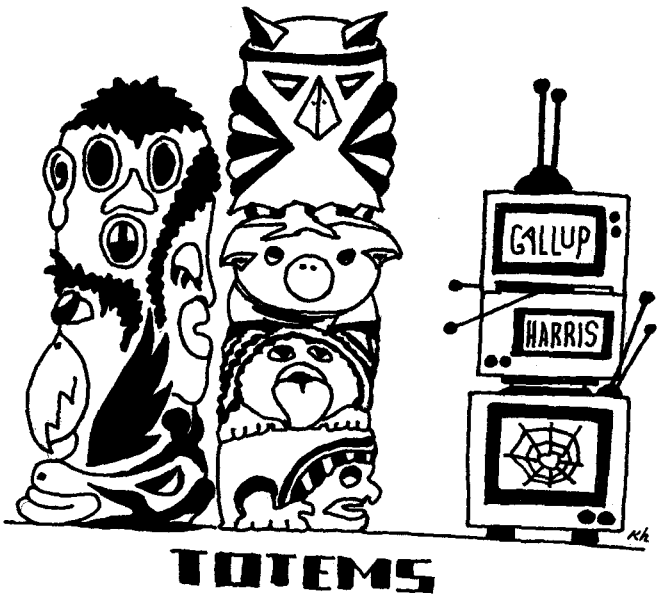

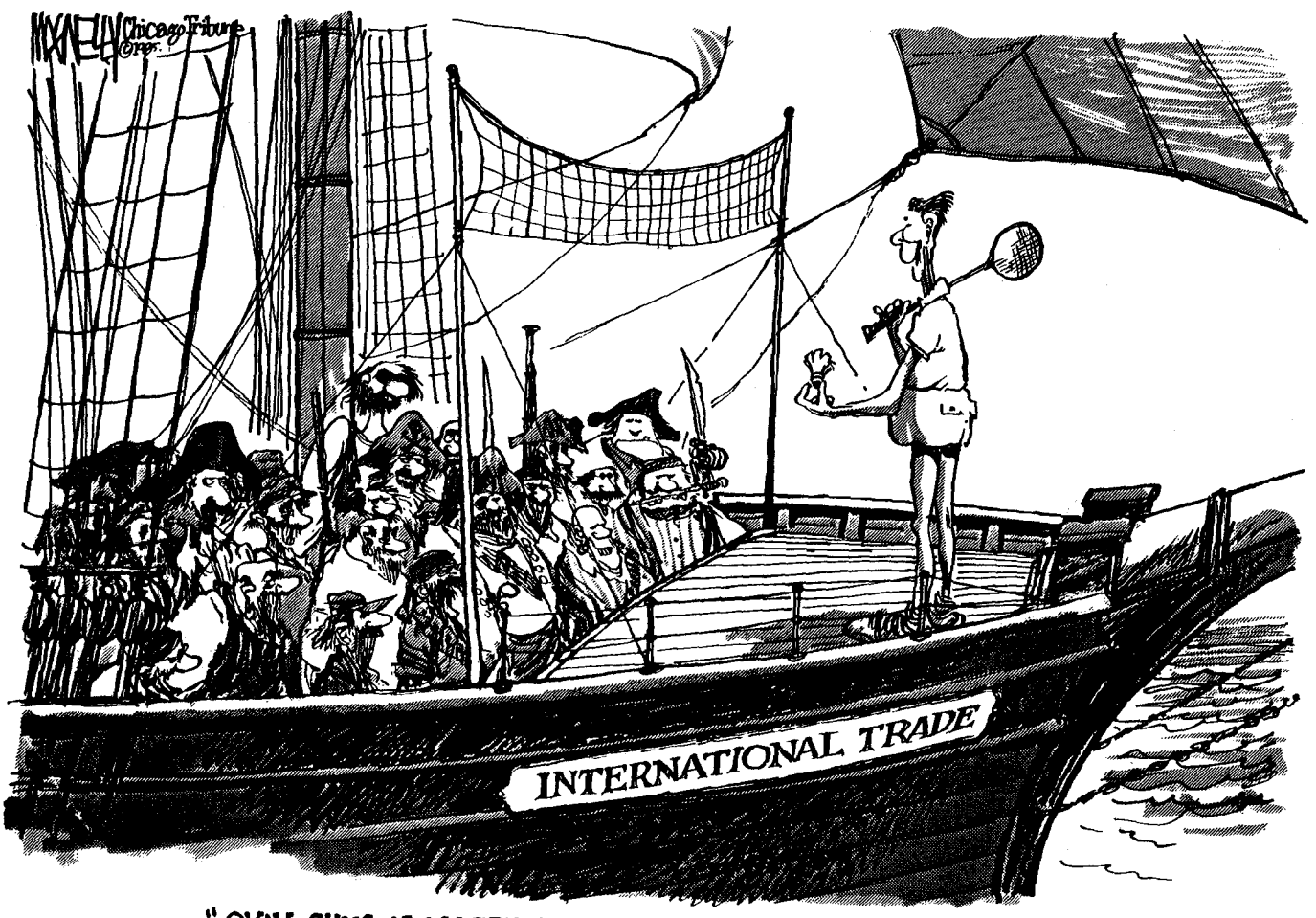

"OKAY, GUYS, NOW LET'S GO OVER THE RULES ONE MORE TIME..."

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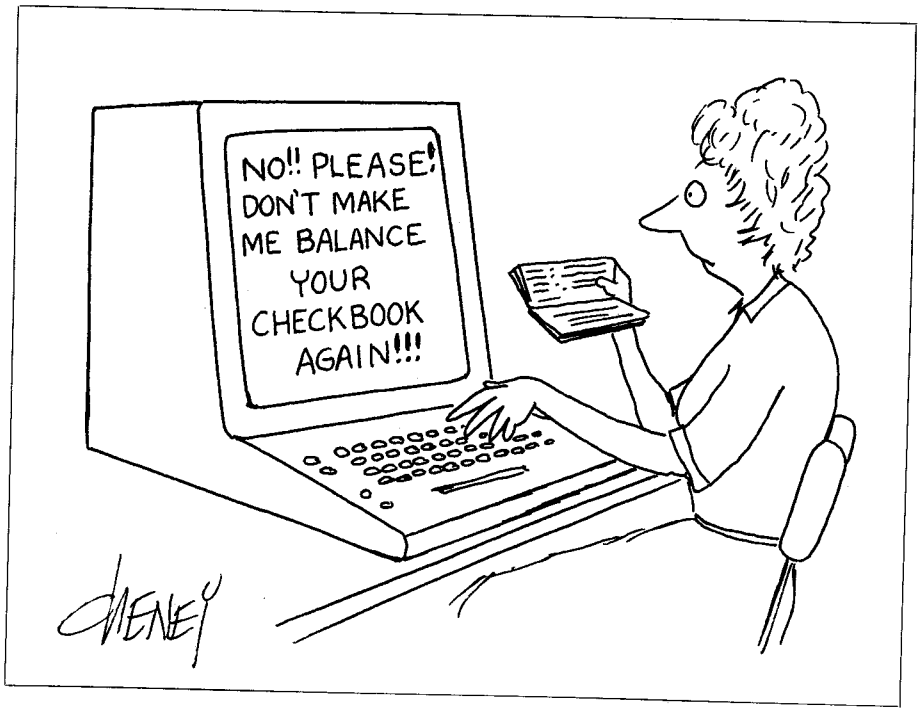

Epitaphs

Musician
Marble grotto
With his motto:
Life's allegro,
Death's legato.

Actress
Expired,
Through with things,
Retired
To the wings.

Auctioneer
He was crowing
At the dawn.
"I am going . . .
Going . . . gone!"

Gloria A. Maxson

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nuclear winter was permitted at the biologists' meeting, the biologists had to work with what they were given. The result was that their response and the resulting *Science* article grossly exaggerated the biological effects of nuclear winter, predicting mass extinctions and the end of agriculture, photosynthesis, and possibly man himself. As Cambridge attendee Michael McElroy told Seitz: "They stacked the deck." He added: "I think that [the TTAPS biological-effects paper in *Science*] was absolutely atrocious. I mean it was not science at all. It was emotionalism carried to an extreme. . . . the conclusions are reached in advance of any consideration of the evidence. And individuals who contributed to that, as far as I can see, did not do so critically but did so with a view—and I hesitate to say this—but with a view that it was a political document rather than a scientific document."

Though few such scathing criticisms have been made publicly, scientists are increasingly willing to challenge the nuclear-winter propaganda. When Sagan began making unqualified public references to the December 1984 National Academy report as vindicating TTAPS, the response was swift. "Carl Sagan is wrong," retorted Washington University physicist Jonathan Katz, co-author of the Academy report. Writing in the *New York Times* of January 5, 1985, Katz stressed that the Academy report "did not endorse the conclusion of the 'TTAPS' report." Rather, the Academy report said the uncertainties in nuclear-winter calculations are so great that a definitive conclusion cannot be reached at this time.

Nature editor Maddox, writing in the March 1, 1984, issue, criticized policymaking based on nuclear winter as premature, since the theory is "not yet established." He urged that "talk of some of the consequences of nuclear warfare had better be postponed until the underlying assumptions are better understood."

The TTAPS authors replied in the September 27 issue that their findings "evolved from, and were partly calibrated by," 1) some 12 years of research on the dust storms of Mars, 2) the climatic effects of volcanic explosions on Earth, and 3) the "possible" collision of an asteroid or comet with Earth at the time of the dinosaur extinctions. They also said they consulted a "large number of experts in atmospheric physics and chemistry" at the Cambridge meeting, and they included lots of footnotes in their article.

Sherwood Idso of the Institute for Biospheric Research rejoined in the November 29 issue:

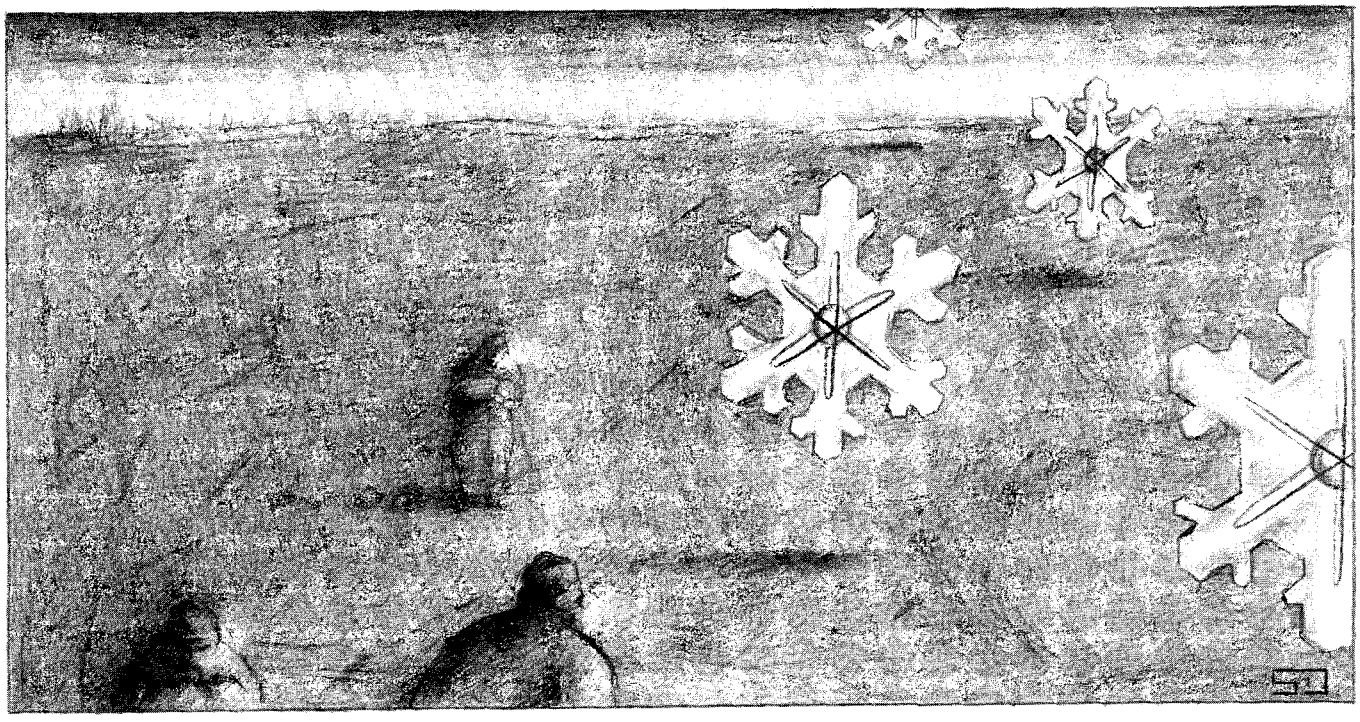
> If these reasons are indeed the basis for their confidence, the criticism they received was well justified. To begin with, what good is a technique that is only *partly* calibrated? And how can a model be calibrated against a *possible* phenomenon which may or may not have actually occurred . . . ?

Idso pointed out that the small climate changes that result from volcanoes are caused primarily by sulphuric-acid droplets, not by the kind of smoke and dust involved in the nuclear-winter models. "So how can this comparison be of any use?" he asked. He continued:

> In addition, of what real comparative value is the planet Mars? It has no liquid water on its surface, while Earth is 70 per cent covered by seas; and its atmospheric mass is minuscule. Dust there operates almost as if it were in a vacuum; and, again, Turco et al. claim that it is not dust but rather sooty smoke from fires that is the major cause of nuclear winter.
>
> And as for citing lots of background material and getting the opinions of a large number of experts, what does that *prove*? Absolutely nothing, which is precisely the point made by John Maddox, and one which I heartily endorse.

As the criticisms have mounted, it has become clear that there are eight vulnerable links in the winterists' argument. As Sagan has admitted in *Science*, if a *single link* in the chain of evidence is faulty, the whole argument fails. In brief, the eight weak links are:

1. *Projected nuclear-attack scenarios.* Most nuclear-winter war scenarios perversely target cities instead of military sites—such as nuclear-missile silos that can shoot back at an attacker. Cities are the prime sources of winter-deadly



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These accumulated guesses yield anywhere from many thousands of tons of nuclear smoke up to multiple billions of tons, a range covering five or six orders of magnitude

smoke. Yet it has long been Soviet policy to target American military sites, and the U.S. has been gradually shifting to military targeting since 1974.

Fire researchers at the Pacific-Sierra Research Corp. have done a minutely detailed study of the probable effects of nuclear strikes against 3,459 American and Soviet military targets. Their scenarios yielded roughly a million tons of smoke. The winterists' own minimum threshold for a nuclear winter is one *hundred* million tons.

2. *Projected nuclear-weapons effects.* Winterists admit that many or most of the fires ignited by the searing light from a nuclear explosion will be "promptly snuffed out" a few seconds later by the tremendous winds from the blast wave. They thus emphasize instead the role of "secondary fires" caused by the blast winds' "disrupting open flames, rupturing gas lines and fuel storage tanks, and causing electrical and mechanical sparks." There is, however, very little evidence of such secondary fires at Hiroshima or Nagasaki. Nuclear tests in Nevada show that gas lines and fuel tanks are extremely resistant to damage.

3. *Estimated smoke and dust generation.* Winterist estimates of the total amounts of smoke generated in a nuclear war have been based on almost pure guesswork. The winterists guessed at the percentage of the burnable material in the affected areas that would catch fire and came up with one-half. Their guesses about the absolute amount of fuel burned range from 0.01 to 100 pounds per square foot of city or rural area burned. For the average percentage of burned fuel that ends up as smoke, they give a range from 1 to 10 per cent. They guess, as well, at the total area that would be burned in a nuclear war. These accumulated guesses yield anywhere from many thousands of tons of nuclear smoke up to multiple billions of tons, a range covering five or six orders of magnitude.

4. *Properties of smoke and dust.* Winterists use no data whatsoever on the optical and thermal properties and composition of city-fire smoke, the most important winter-dangerous substance. They use data from forest fires and even burning cigarettes, but not burning houses and offices. For the properties of nuclear dust, they use data on dust from volcanoes, which, as noted above, differs from the dust of burning cities in important ways.

5. *Atmospheric transport and removal.* This is another area of great controversy. Winterists' simplistic models usually begin with smoke and dust already spread *uniformly* around the world or in the Northern Hemisphere. "That can't happen," Rathjens declares. He and many other critics point out that clouds of smoke and dust obviously start out patchy. TTAPS admits that differential heating by sunlight at the edges of the patches will cause violent storms, which will help wash away the smoke and dust.

Smoke particles, though smaller and lighter than dust particles, are also quite "sticky" and will attach themselves to heavier dust particles, accelerating their return to earth. In fact, many dust and smoke particles will quickly turn into raindrops as moisture in the air condenses around them, or they will merge with natural raindrops, according to the analysis of University of Virginia geophysicist and air-pollution expert Fred Singer, confirmed by physicist Joyce Penner's computer simulations at the Livermore lab. The drops would then fall to the ground like the "black rain" noticed at Hiroshima and elsewhere after massive fires.

Natural atmospheric electrical charges, such as those generated in lightning, would also help remove smoke from the atmosphere. Giving smoke particles an electrical charge makes them attractive to each other, as if they were little electric magnets. Tiny clumps of charged particles will be heavier than the individual particles and will be less likely to stay airborne. TTAPS relegated the effects of atmospheric electrical charges to a footnote, and the Academy report pooh-poohed them. Neither even considered the possibility of using man-made electrical charges to clear the atmosphere. It is well known, for instance, that high-altitude nuclear explosions generate huge amounts of electrically ionizing radiations that penetrate the atmosphere from above, for hundreds of miles around. Thus it is at least possible that most winterizing smoke could be quickly removed from the atmosphere.

6. *Climatic physics model.* Anyone who reads the tabloids is familiar with climatologists' endless disputes over whether the earth is heading into a new Ice Age or is turning into a desert or a tropical hothouse. The models used to predict these possibilities—and tomorrow's weather—are the same as those used to predict nuclear winter. In either case the forecasts that result are unreliable because the basic science behind climate models is still poorly understood. Change a few of the assumptions programmed into the computer, and you may even get a warming effect instead of a deep freeze. Virtually everyone involved with nuclear-winter studies has criticized the climatic models used.

7. *Projected climatic effects of smoke and dust.* As noted above, the chief objection to the winterists' projections about the climatic effects of smoke in the aftermath of a nuclear war is that none of the available empirical evidence, chiefly the events at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, confirms the nuclear-winter theory.

The question of the effects of dust is a bit more complicated because of the winterists' ambivalence about volcanoes. When data on volcanic dust are used to attack the theory, the winterists argue that comparisons between eruptions and nuclear blasts are "inappropriate." Yet for certain key calculations their own models use data on volcanic dust rather than nuclear dust, and the TTAPS group

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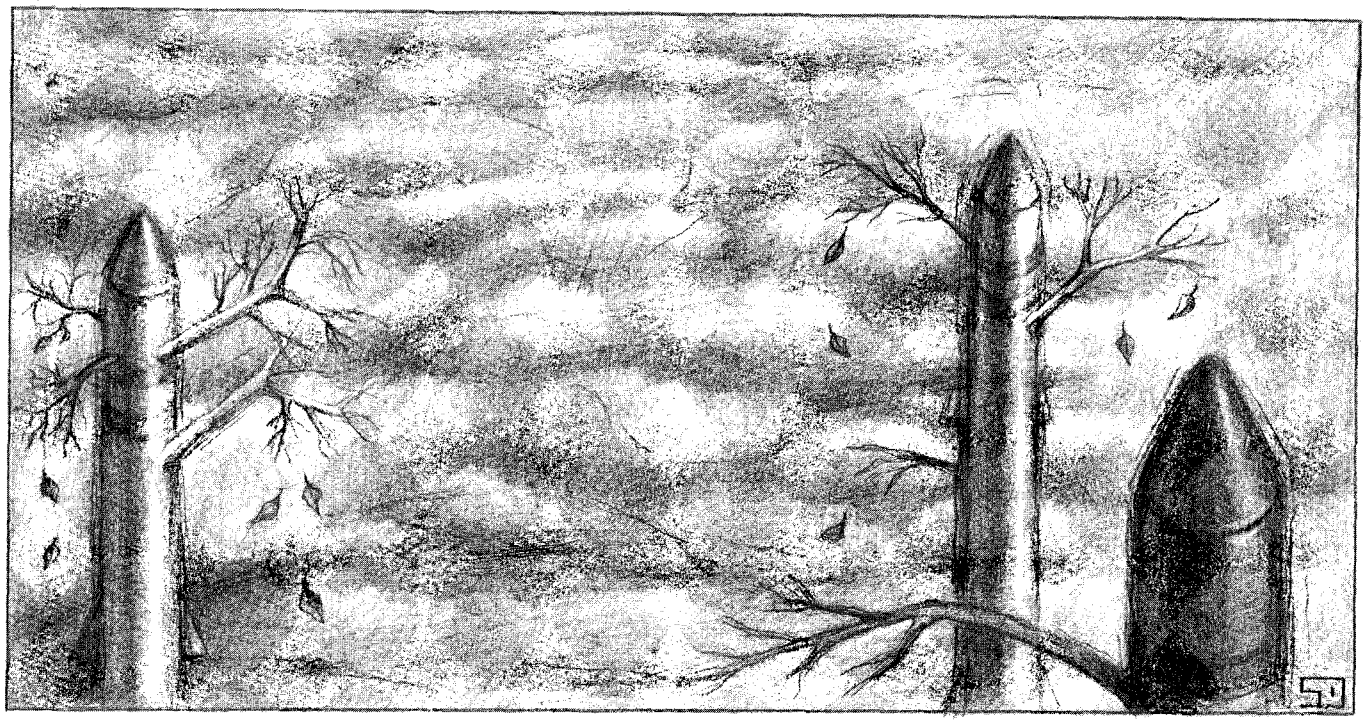

proclaimed that its "nuclear-dust calculations were entirely consistent" with volcanic phenomena.

Volcanoes, however, have little climatic effect, and what effect they do have may be the reverse of that predicted by the winterists. As meteorologist Alan Robock of the University of Maryland told the Halloween nuclear-winter meeting:

> We looked at the surface temperatures after Mount St. Helens' volcanic eruption, when the atmosphere was full of dust for several days. We found that the surface temperatures did not cool but remained relatively constant. . . . the surface, completely insulated from solar radiation . . . , did not cool because it was warmed by the infra-red radiation from the dust. . . . the warm layer of dust in the atmosphere should produce a warming effect on the surface.

In other words the hot *sunlit* dust heated up the darkened ground, making up for the loss of direct sunlight. The Academy panel essentially conceded this point. But if hundreds of millions of tons of volcanic dust blasted high into the air produce a warming effect, why shouldn't similar amounts of nuclear dust, blasted to about the same altitudes, do the same? Indeed, Fred Singer has published numerous articles arguing that "nuclear summer" is a greater possibility than nuclear winter. Other physicists have found similar results, but their work remains quietly buried inside scientific journals.

Some winterists, when challenged, concede the warming effect but argue that it would only be temporary. But none of the important nuclear-winter models shows the warming effect at all, even temporarily. For example, the TTAPS "dust only" scenarios show temperatures dropping continuously for a total of 5 to 20 degrees Fahrenheit in the first ten days. This deliberate evasion of admitted contrary evidence goes to the heart of what is wrong with the winterists as scientists.

8. *Overestimation of the greenhouse effect.* Finally and most damningly, even if the nuclear-winter scenario played out exactly as TTAPS and others predict, the effects on the earth's temperature would be far less than the dramatic 70- to 120-degree drop the winterists threaten.

Nuclear winter supposedly works by canceling the "greenhouse effect," the tendency of the earth's atmosphere to transform sunlight into heat and then retain the heat. Thus the limiting cases for nuclear winter—the greatest possible temperature drops—are those that would occur when the greenhouse effect is completely eliminated and the earth becomes, as it were, an "airless planet," to use TTAPS's words. But the greenhouse effect adds, at most, approximately 55 degrees to the earth's temperature. Thus (in the relevant one-dimensional models), if the earth lost all the warming effects of its atmospheric greenhouse, but lost none of its considerable reflectiveness, including that provided by shiny white clouds, the maximum temperature drop would be approximately 55 degrees. Take into account the darkening of the earth by nuclear smoke, and the drop would be approximately 35 degrees. Thus the winterists' theory is fundamentally contradictory, even absurd. For their worst-case scenario is not capable of producing the worst-case results they promote on TV talk shows and in popular magazine articles.

PROBABLY MANY of us have heard Carl Sagan describe his vision of the horrible aftermath of a nuclear war —the earth turned into a frozen, dark wasteland. He makes a persuasive case for nuclear winter.

But "persuasive" doesn't necessarily mean "true." Sagan himself says of nuclear winter that, to be taken seriously, such "apocalyptic predictions . . . require higher standards of evidence . . ." Nuclear winter fails the "higher standards of evidence" required for such Doomsday predictions. Sagan's persuasiveness is only an illusion. "Like all scientific findings," says Sagan, nuclear winter "can be shown to be true or false by objective means." But nuclear winter isn't science. It is propaganda. And the willingness of prominent men of science to debase themselves and their calling for the cheap thrills of political notoriety is a scandal. □

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A SURFEIT OF SPIES

THE SOVIET ambassador to Greece, Igor Andropov, has not had many good days lately. Exposure of the Soviets' well-entrenched espionage/subversion network in Greece has seriously damaged their regional covert operations, hindered their acquisition of militarily significant technology, and left several key "diplomats" implicated in spying for the USSR.

Andropov's troubles began with the Westward defection of high-ranking Soviet intelligence officer Sergei Bokhan last May. Before spring-heeling toward political asylum in the United States, Bokhan served a lengthy stint (1978 to 1985) in Greece as the Soviet Embassy's first secretary for political affairs. That, of course, was a diplomatic cover. His actual post in Athens was deputy director of the GRU contingent. (The GRU—*Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravleniye*, or Chief Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet General Staff—emphasizes military rather than political intelligence gathering. It also engages in subversion and terror worldwide.)

For obvious reasons, little has yet been confirmed officially concerning the specifics and extent of Bokhan's disclosures to U.S. intelligence agencies. However, political and diplomatic sources contend that Bokhan has provided, inter alia, extensive information on the following:

—Soviet espionage directed against Greek and NATO interests in the region.

—The infiltration and manipulation of labor and peace movements, both in Greece and elsewhere.

—The acquisition of militarily significant Western technology through legal and illegal "direct collection," plus diversion of targeted "dual-use" technologies through surrogates.

—Direct and indirect (via "third parties") orchestration by the Soviets of terrorist acts in Greece and abroad.

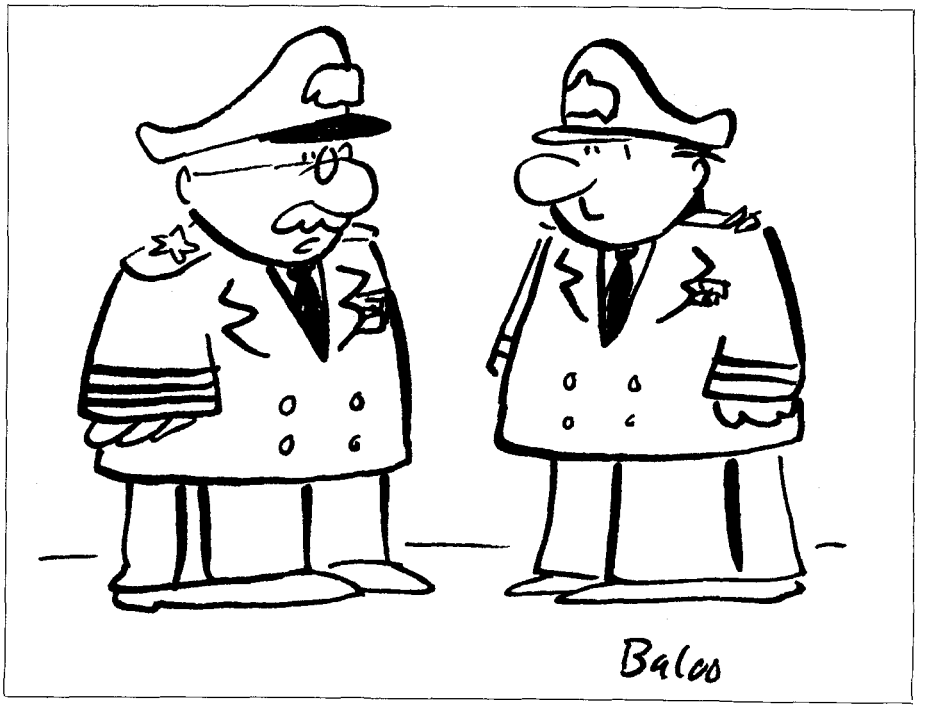
—Soviet infiltration of the left-wing press in Greece, including planted articles and the use of journalist dupes, to cultivate and exploit anti-American sentiments and reinforce the Kremlin's propaganda line.

Cooperation between U.S. and Greek intelligence agencies in evaluating portions of Bokhan's testimony has already borne fruit. So far, three Greeks have been arrested—a lieutenant attached to the computer section at Greek naval headquarters and two civilians employed by subsidiaries of American firms involved in computer, telecommunications, and microelectronics technologies. They are charged with transferring "state secrets" and selling militarily significant technology to the Soviets.

One jailed Greek electronics entrepreneur has named three "diplomats" (Mikhail Bludov, Valery Kocharuk, and Aleksandr Kalinin), all with the Soviet Commercial Mission in Athens, with whom he had cooperated since 1975. Their all too convenient absence from Greece has drawn attention to the substantial number of Soviet Embassy personnel who have quietly exited the country following Bokhan's defection. Few would wager on their return from "vacations" in the USSR.

This situation has fueled speculation that Moscow wished to recall those operatives compromised by Bokhan's disclosures. Others, however, speculate that the socialist government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou requested the departures to avoid the publicity of expulsions. This argument is supported somewhat by the government's past pro-Soviet rhetoric and by its tardy, mildly worded, and low-level diplomatic "protest note" to the Soviets over the espionage activities.

(Continues on page 60)



"Anyone who says women wouldn't do well in combat is a bachelor."

Mr. Carpenter lives in Greece and is a writer for The Athenian, *Greece's main English-language monthly. He is currently working on a book about the Papandreou government.*

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HOW TO START A REVOLUTION WITHOUT REALLY TRYING

"If the law itself commits the act that it is supposed to suppress, I say this is still plunder and, as far as society is concerned, plunder of an even graver kind."

—Frédéric Bastiat, "The Law" (1850)

IN A RECENT article (*NR*, Aug. 23) I pointed out that the international debt crisis would not soon go away, because the indebted countries have been unable to create property rights, which are indispensable if new wealth is to be created. And without new wealth, debts cannot be repaid. Moreover, I suggested, certain American elites have sometimes worked to obstruct the emergence of property rights abroad, whether or not they knew they were doing so.

Property rights depend on the rule of law: the establishment and acceptance of the idea that the law must apply to all, including (especially) those who administer it; and that there exist human rights of ownership and exchange, the security of which it is the duty of governments to protect. Today, the central problem of economic philosophy is simply this: How is the rule of law to be established in those countries—the great majority—that do not enjoy it? Not only has this not been answered in contemporary economic discourse. It has scarcely been asked. For example, Professor P. T. Bauer of the London School of Economics (now Lord Bauer), perhaps the leading critic of mainstream "development" economics, does not raise the question of property rights and how they are to be established in undeveloped countries.

Let us now embark on a brief excursion, beginning with the Philippines. Citing a Communist threat, Ferdinand Marcos imposed martial law there in September 1972. Political opposition and press freedom were curtailed. And land reform was instituted. This, Marcos said, "would eliminate landlordism in the Philippines and give land to the tillers everywhere in the country." Marcos had simply seized the power to expropriate rural property, with the added provision that the tillers, or renters, of the land were in some cases declared to be its new "owners."

The *New York Times* reacted to Marcos's martial law with telltale ambivalence. It was predictably concerned about the "repression of civil liberties" and the "suspension of democratic institutions." But it relished the "genuine reform" of expropriation, which deserved "open encouragement." This might take the form of "generous economic assistance for programs to help the majority of Filipinos." (The welfare state should be extended to the Philippines, in short.)

Land to the Tillers!

THE TRUTH was that Marcos deserved condemnation on all counts. But the *Times* saw partial merit in his version of martial law: Freedom of speech was a civil liberty; the security of ownership was not. The *Times* here made explicit what we all know: The claims of property are often suspect to educated elites. Even though we may enjoy the security of property and take it for granted in our own lives, its general advocacy and application are intensely controversial. Explicit support of the security of property by the economics profession would entail a repudiation of the statist ideology by which it has been guided for fifty years, and such a change is too painful to contemplate, no matter what the evidence may be.

A year later, in October 1973, embarrassing details about the Philippine land reform were published by the *New York Times*. The reform was facing a "major roadblock." Tens of thousands of middle-class smallholders were unexpectedly scheduled for expropriation. Half the plots eligible for plunder were 25 acres or less. They were owned, Tillman Durdin reported,

> by businessmen, retired military officers, teachers, and other professionals who have put their savings into small rural properties that they have regarded as providing basic security for themselves and their heirs. Tenants cultivate their lands while they live in towns and collect as rent their share of what the tenants make.

The Secretary of Agrarian Reform was quoted as saying: "These are the very people, a part of the middle class, whose support the president needs. They will be very bitter if they have to give up their lands."

Oh dear, somebody had goofed. Marcos had been persuaded that ownership was the great bulwark against Communism. Therefore, if you took land from "absentee landlords" and gave it to the tillers, ownership would increase and Communism would find no foothold. But the absentee landlords turned out to be teachers—Marcos's own bureaucrats!—who had bought a little land as a form of pension plan: something literally to live on after retirement. And now Marcos wanted to seize it from them. Adding insult to injury, the *New York Times* (its editorial writers secure in Scarsdale) had given its blessing.

Much of this planned plunder was forestalled. Nevertheless, Marcos weakened his own country with land reform, which provided him with the rationale for seizing the property of political opponents (including the largest steel mill in the country), thereby contributing to a general insecurity. Furthermore, when the rule of law is subverted, corruption invariably takes its

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place. If a landowner's property was unexpectedly *not* taken, then his neighbors would suspect him of buying off the Agrarian Reform surveyors even if he had not.

New owners cannot possibly feel secure in such a climate of mounting despotism. This key defect of land reform has been pointed out by the anthropologist Grace Goodell, now at Johns Hopkins's School for Advanced International Studies. Miss Goodell did her field work in Iran, where in the 1960s the Shah had unwisely taken American and World Bank advice, imposed a draconian land reform, expropriated the mullahs, "rewarded" the peasants with the stolen land, and in the end, as we know, paid the penalty himself.

"If the Shah can take all this land away from the landlords to give to us," Iranian peasants said to Miss Goodell, "how much easier it will be for him to take it away from us some day."

This happened, and it didn't take long. Persuaded that American agribusiness concerns knew more about working the land than his own Iranians, the Shah soon stripped the peasants of their short-lived holdings. Miss Goodell, whose book about Iran, *The Elementary Structure of Political Life*, will be published by Oxford University Press next year, regards land reform as "the state's Trojan horse for its own penetration and domination of the countryside." But, as the Shah found, it is a dangerous weapon, creating an embittered and perhaps revolutionary middle class that sees itself, probably correctly, as having been wrongfully dispossessed. In much the same way, Ngo Dinh Diem and Nguyen Van Thieu destabilized South Vietnam with American-backed land reforms in the early and late 1960s.

Tillers at the Till

THE PHILIPPINE fiasco was largely financed by the World Bank, which shelled out at least $50 million to the Marcos government (which of course could use the money to reward political allies). The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) was also involved in a small way, spending about $2 million on various studies and surveys. But AID soon withdrew, apparently having recognized its dangerous features. By 1975 the proposed new "owners" were downgraded to "leaseholders" in AID documents, leaving the Philippine middle class, one may guess, more secure and less rebellious.

Roy Prosterman, the land-reform expert from the University of Washington Law School, testified in 1975 before the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance that he had been "very close to the processes of development of the land reform there [the Philippines], and I have been very disappointed to see the failure of the Philippine land-reform program. It was initiated as a program to transfer land ownership to a million families of tenant farmers, and with respect to that goal they have achieved only 1 per cent of what was intended over a thirty-month period."

Prosterman was also an architect of President Thieu's 1969 land reform in South Vietnam ("successful in achiev-

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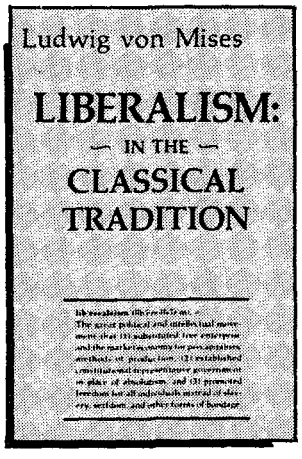

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ing its immediate objectives," Prosterman wrote in the Summer 1981 issue of *International Security*), and he also played a major advisory role a decade later in the land-to-the-tiller phase of the Salvadoran land reform that was established (with the close cooperation of U.S. Ambassador Robert White) in the final year of the Carter Administration. Subsequently, President Reagan's political appointees to AID have been surprised to find that the most unpopular and destabilizing feature of the Philippine reform was repeated in El Salvador: Land was eligible for expropriation on the grounds that its owners were absent, but these turned out in many cases to be middle-class professionals in San Salvador, not millionaires in Miami. Many of these people soon found that, instead of a patch of land to retire to, they had worthless bonds stamped by the El Salvador Institute for Agrarian Transformation. Later the State Department (in two separate reports) concluded that there was a connection between this injustice and what came to be called "right-wing death squads."

In some cases, AID and State Department officials were dismayed to find, "absentee landlords" turned out to be widows, orphans, and yes, *handicapped persons*, whose crippled or aged condition prevented them from tilling the soil themselves, but who had enterprisingly found others to rent the land from them. No matter! Expropriate the expropriaters! In some of the more pathetic cases, apparently, the intended beneficiaries refused to accept the land. (In Sri Lanka this error was also made, and again many *tillers refused to accept plundered* land.)

It turned out that the new owners could not sell their land for thirty years. This was intended to prevent them from selling it back to those from whom it had been taken. The effect was to weaken property rights considerably, because those who cannot realize the value of what they own cannot really be said to own it, and will certainly be deterred from improving it. (Consider what would happen to the building stock in the United States if no one could sell houses for thirty years.) Moreover, the new owners weren't allowed to rent out "their" land either, because if they did they would become . . . absentee landlords! And subject to expropriation in turn. This destructive and tyrannical provision, also a feature of life in rural Mexico, effectively returns a country to serfdom. Consider the effect on industry if the owners of buildings were not allowed to rent them out.

In Phase I of the Salvadoran land reform, all farms larger than 1,235 acres were expropriated, and those who had worked the fields were told that they *collectively* owned the land. But each individual could not sell his share nor could the collective as a whole sell the property. Rather than "extending" property rights, such edicts destroy them completely. They also destroy the incentive to work, because the individual who multiplies his effort can only marginally increase his reward, if indeed he can increase it at all. This "reform" repeated in El Salvador the collectivist system imposed by the Cardenas administration in Mexico in 1934, when a sizable percentage of Mexican farmland was "reformed" into the *ejido* system—one that denied the peasants the right to sell their share of the land (an error that remains uncorrected to this day).

A Political Tool

THE AID Administrator, Peter McPherson, has in recent months publicly criticized this provision of the law and has tried to get President Duarte to change it, so far without success. Duarte is far more wedded to socialist principles than is generally realized, and he is most unlikely to comply. In addition, a collectivized farm is a convenient political tool, useful for granting favors or withholding them. Nor will Duarte feel the economic pinch that might encourage him to change so long as he is cushioned by U.S. dollars—one of P. T. Bauer's favorite arguments against foreign aid.

Fiscal 1986 U.S. aid for El Salvador is $483 million—including $46 million in food aid to make up for the sharp agricultural decline that has set in since land reform was implemented in 1980. The foreign-aid request for the Philippines this year is $279 million, including $35 million in food aid. Two countries that do not recieve U.S. aid, incidentally, even though they are eligible for it, are Mexico and Nigeria. They are, one AID official said, in the "Too Proud to Accept" category. One wishes for the sake of P. T. Bauer that they were doing better economically. Both, alas, are basket cases. At the same time neither enjoys anything remotely resembling the rule of law. So far are we from grasping this issue that when, a month after the earthquake, the Mexican strongman Miguel de la Madrid expropriated seven thousand private buildings on 625 acres of Mexico City land, two *Wall Street Journal* reporters (Steve Frazier and Mary Williams Walsh) adjudged the expropriation decree to be among de la Madrid's "short-term successes." Due process at home and socialism abroad —that is the unstated and probably unconscious prescription of so many university-educated Americans.

(The *Wall Street Journal* assigned nine reporters to its six-part, post-

(Continues on page 61)

"We believe man is capable of self-powered flight if the motivation is strong enough."

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THE EXECUTIONER'S BIAS

WHEN, IN 1972, the Supreme Court in *Furman* v. *Georgia* revised the standards for state capital-punishment laws, effectively making the death penalty illegal, the Court's rationale was that the death penalty had been imposed arbitrarily and capriciously, especially in that blacks were more likely to be executed than whites who committed similar crimes. After the ruling, states began rewriting their death-penalty statutes. In 1976, the Supreme Court cleared the way for executions to resume under stricter guidelines incorporating extra layers of protection against discrimination. Today, execution is still discriminatory. But now whites are far more likely to be executed than blacks.

Seven of the first eight executions after the 1976 decision were of white murderers. Although it would be absurd to charge conscious conspiracy, it has been argued that this disproportion was a symbolic response to the accusations of racism that had forced rescission of the death-penalty laws in the first place. After those first few executions, things evened out a bit, but whites continue to be executed at a disproportionate rate.

Of the 47 people executed since 1976, 28 have been white, 17 black, and two Hispanic. Blacks, it is true, make up only 12 per cent of the population, suggesting that discrimination persists. But a closer look shows that during the same period approximately 35 per cent of those arrested for murder and non-negligent homicide were white, while 50 per cent were black and 15 per cent Hispanic. The fact that almost as many blacks are sentenced to death as whites no more proves discrimination against blacks than the fact that 99 per cent of those sentenced to death are male proves discrimination against men.

Although whites account for less than 40 per cent of murders, they account for more than 60 per cent of those executed for murder. According to the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics, for every one thousand whites arrested on the charge of murder, almost 16 went to prison under the sentence of death. Fewer than 12 blacks for every thousand arrested were sent to death row. Not only do whites run a greater chance of being sentenced to death, but once sentenced, they are more likely to be executed. From 1977 to 1984, 1.7 per cent of all whites on death row were executed, compared to 1.1 per cent of all blacks on death row. Moreover, a slightly higher proportion of blacks left death row alive during this period (37 per cent, compared to 35 per cent of whites), as a result of the courts' overturning their convictions or sentences. Because of judicial delays and the numerous appeals available under the new statutes, most residents of death row will probably die a natural death. In fact, an innocent citizen has a greater chance of getting murdered than a murderer has of being executed for his crime.

The Last Straw

IN THE face of such overwhelming evidence, some of those who opposed the death penalty on the grounds that it discriminated against blacks have taken a new tack. They now claim that the death penalty is discriminatory because the murderer of a white stands a greater chance of being executed than the murderer of a black. Therefore, the argument goes, our criminal-justice system values the lives of whites more than the lives of blacks. Representative John Conyers wrote in the July 1, 1985, *New York Times*: "The chances of being executed are three to ten times greater for killing a white person than a black person." Not only is Conyers oblique about the numbers, he also disregards the fact that most murders are committed within one's own race. In 1983, 94 per cent of black murder victims were killed by blacks, while 88 per cent of the whites murdered were slain by whites. Not only are interracial murders uncommon, but such as do occur are far more likely to entail blacks killing whites than the reverse: In 1983, 245 blacks were killed by whites, while 592 whites were killed by blacks.

This polemical shift reveals the resilient ideological bias of death-penalty opponents. It is almost certainly true that more murderers of white people are being executed, because more whites are being executed, rather than the other way around. The history of death-penalty statutes and cases since 1972 encourages the courts to bend over backward to make sure they are not executing a disproportionate number of blacks. So they end up executing a disproportionate number of whites and murderers of whites. This is a reason not to abolish the death penalty, but to straighten out some of the post-1972 confusion and restore to Justice her blindfold.

The discrimination argument is a straw to which the death-penalty opponents clutch desperately in the face of mounting evidence of execution's deterrent effect. But some myths die hard. Though 37 states have resumed capital punishment, and many other states have new laws in the works, and though popular support for capital punishment is overwhelming, a Gallup poll recently found that 37 per cent of whites and 56 per cent of blacks thought a black would be more likely to receive the death penalty than a white. □

Mr. Johnson has been studying and writing about prejudice in executions for several years and was glad to note that a recent Justice Department report confirmed his own findings.

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SOCIALISTS AND THE FREE MARKET

THIS MONTH—October 1985—something remarkable happened in Austria: The Socialist government issued a new hundred-*Schilling* bank note (the equivalent of about five dollars) with the portrait of Eugen Böhm von Bawerk (1851-1914), the economist who put the Austrian School on the map. This is a startling occurrence because the Austrian School is almost unknown in Austria. If I mention it there, people think that I am referring to either a musical, an ethnological, a psychiatric, or a medical tradition, or to a group of artists. (All these "Austrian schools" do or did exist.) In order to remedy this situation, a Carl Menger Society—named after the school's founder—has just been established in Vienna. The president is Friedrich A. Hayek.

The reader might wonder what is the relationship between a Socialist Austrian government—or indeed any Socialist party in Europe—and a free-market economy. The answer is that theory differs greatly from practice, and, in order to understand this, one must have a certain grasp of European history and sociology.

In Europe conservatives always had close ties to Christian denominational bodies, and their leaders tended to be aristocrats, or farmers, or members of certain sectors of the middle class. The liberal leaders, as a rule, came from the high bourgeoisie, and with the introduction of the one-man/one-vote system their parties rapidly declined in importance. A certain anticlericalism was not rare among them, and only in France did such liberals reach down effectively into the lower middle class. Many of the intellectuals were liberals, and not a few of them had nationalist leanings (Bismarck was the head not of the Conservative Party, but of the National Liberal Party). The Socialist parties, meanwhile, recruited their voters from among the workers, but their leaders were mostly second-rate intellectuals. A truly revolutionary temper developed in those leftist parties that were convinced they could not win at all in free elections.

The Liberals, naturally, were at all times the main defenders of a free-market system. The aristocratic element in the conservative parties did not like the newly rich—the manufacturers, traders, and bankers—and wanted them to treat their workers as they themselves treated their laborers, something that simply cannot be done in an industrial society. Conservatives and clerics did not like socialists either, but they always dreamed (and some continue to dream) of a "third way." But a third way does not exist. The means of production belong to individuals, to groups of individuals, or to the state. Nothing belongs to "society," which is an abstraction. Yugoslavia has, in vain, tried a third way in which the means of production belong (on paper) to the workers. This is a mere fiction. Free enterprise has long legs and runs fast, socialism has short legs and moves slowly; the Yugoslavian economy has one long and one short leg and stumbles badly.

It must also be understood that conservative and even clerical parties (which often overlap) are not as hostile to the welfare state (as long as it does not become a provider state) as classical liberals are. This sympathy is the result of a patriarchal attitude. Joseph A. Schumpeter, another Austrian economist (but not a member of the Austrian School), has shown how the lower Prussian nobility, as trusted servants of the Prussian bureaucracy, fostered the beginnings of the welfare state. Wilhelm II fought with Bismarck over the issue; Bismarck finally convinced the Kaiser that entrepreneurs, too, were his subjects, and were therefore entitled to his protection against the striking and rebellious workers.

But what happens if, in free elections, Socialist parties take over the government? And what if they are democratic enough to permit further elections, which, again, they will want to win? How loyal can they be to their ideology? Naturally, they tend toward welfarism and the provider state, because this means handouts to the voters. But though all socialism is welfarism, not all welfarism is socialism. Sweden, an extreme welfare state, has a smaller public sector than many non-socialist states.

AS A MATTER of fact, if the Socialist parties had real character and firm convictions, they would, whenever they had a solid majority, brutally nationalize all enterprises. Given the example of economic failure east of the Iron Curtain, however, the leaders of the Socialist parties are no longer truly convinced that Marx was correct and that socialism is more efficient than free enterprise at delivering the goods. But in order not to renege entirely on their secular creed, they will, if they take over, carry out certain selective socializations (or nationalizations). If these prove to be financial failures, then the taxpayer has to shell out, and bankrupt enterprises simply go on as if nothing had happened.

Interestingly enough, most Socialist parties declare publicly that they do not want to put an end to the free-market economy—one of the main features distinguishing West from East. Ask the average Austrian or German Socialist voter whether he wants the free-market economy abolished, and he surely will reply in the negative. The party leaders know this. Their ideological convictions, by now, are somewhat shaken. They know that to dwell in "intellectualist constructions" (as the Austrian School calls socialism) is one thing; to promote a system that delivers the goods is another. Hence the features of Eugen Böhm von Bawerk on the new hundred-*Schilling* note. □

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POLARIZING CATHOLICS?

THIS *Chicago Tribune* headline topped the others: BISHOPS PRESS FIGHT AGAINST REAGANOMICS. It is as if Bruce Buursma, the *Tribune*'s partisan religion writer, wished to divide the Catholic bishops from the Catholic people, who voted overwhelmingly for Ronald Reagan's economics in 1984. In fact, that is neither the intention nor the core message of the second draft of the pastoral letter on the U.S. economy.

The second draft is far better than the first. It incorporates many of the changes its critics, left and right, have proposed. Last March, writing in *Catholicism in Crisis*, I myself proposed a score of concrete revisions, of which many were either accepted in the second draft or rendered moot by omissions and other changes. Astute analysts saw that the bishops had absorbed a good many of the points made by the Lay Commission chaired by William E. Simon in its letter, *Toward the Future*.

Perhaps to cover all this, Archbishop Weakland has been insisting that the second draft "does not change the core message" of the first, i.e., its concern for the poor and the unemployed. He was wise to do so, for no one—at least not the Lay Commission—challenged this emphasis. The challenge was not *whether* to help the poor and the unemployed, but *how*.

Since 1970, 28 million new jobs have been created in the United States (while Western Europe lost three million in the last decade), and today a higher percentage of Americans 16 or older (65 per cent) are gainfully employed than ever before in American history. It is true that another 8.4 million are seeking work, and that from *every* partisan position creating several million new jobs is an urgent task. The second draft does fail to see, though, that having 7 per cent unemployment against a base of 65 per cent employment compares favorably to having 4 per cent unemployment against a base of 56 per cent employment.

This is but one example of the way in which the second draft's *descriptions* of reality will strike many readers as woefully incomplete. The theological and moral principles of the pastoral letter are stated in greater clarity and with less oversimplification in the second draft than in the first. But the descriptions of American reality are still mainly those of left-wing Democrats.

The footnotes to the draft (one wonders if the bishops have ever read the many volumes cited in the notes) exhibit this with startling clarity. I count references to only five moderate or conservative writers (Milton Friedman on the negative income tax, George Will's *Statecraft as Soulcraft*, Peter Berger, Martin Anderson, and Jack Meyer). But the list of writers of the Left and far Left goes on and on.

Merely a sampling of the latter includes: Gar Alperovitz, Roberto Unger, Robert Dahl, Charles Lindblom, Derek Shearer, Jaroslav Vanek, Sheldon S. Wolin, Michael Walzer, Richard Barnet, Lars Osberg, Michael Harrington, Sheldon Danzinger, Peter Gottschalk, Jonathan Kozol, Robert Kuttner, Lester Thurow, Isabel Sawhill, Alice Rivlin, Rudy Oswald, Lawrence Klein, Arthur Okun, and on and on. The ratio is about 9 to 1 in favor of the Left.

The second draft properly persists in calling poverty a "scandal." But it does not note how much greater the scandal would be if the generation of 1965 to 1985 had not spent upward of thirty times more per year in government social-welfare programs than any previous generation in U.S. history. According to calculations from census data, the "poverty shortfall" in 1982 (the gap between what all the poor earn and what they would need to get over the poverty line) was roughly $45 billion, not counting noncash benefits. The present generation of citizens is spending far more to eliminate poverty than it would cost simply to *give* $45 billion directly to the poor, with the aim that no one would continue below the poverty line. (I do not propose this, but wish to suggest by it that the *financial* magnitude of the problem is not great; the *human* dimension is formidable.)

Again, the second draft says that the U.S. has spent one trillion dollars on the military in the last few years, without noting that it has simultaneously spent *two* trillion dollars on "human resources." The *Statistical Abstract* (1985, Table 492) shows that in 1984, of an estimated budget of $854 billion, 28.1 per cent went for Social Security and Medicare alone; 27.8 per cent for national defense; 13.2 per cent for income security; 10 per cent for health, education, and veterans' services; and so on. "Human resources" received more than half the budget ($438 billion) compared to defense's $238 billion. Moreover, almost two-thirds of the defense budget went to salaries, pensions, family housing, operations and maintenance, and the like, and only about one-third to R&D and the procurement of arms.

THE DESCRIPTION of American reality ought both to be fair and to seem fair to all. "Where many options are available," reads paragraph 336 of the second draft, "it must be our concern in such debates that we as Catholics do not become polarized." This hope would be strengthened if the input into the third draft were less one-sided than it still is in the second. The bishops do not need to feed anti-Americanism abroad or left-wing gloom and doom at home. This nation has traditionally cherished a deep concern, expressed for a century now upon the Statue of Liberty, for the world's tired, poor, and huddled masses, both within the United States and abroad. □

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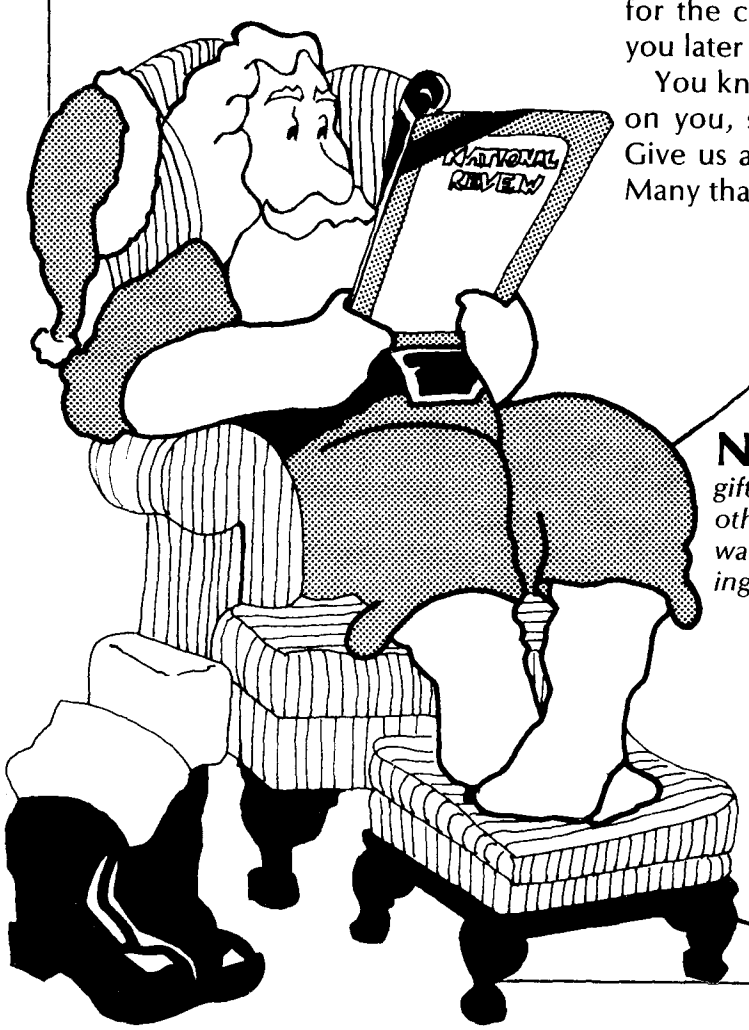

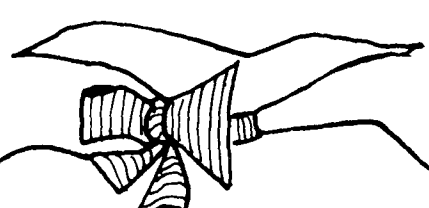

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DON'T GET YOUR KNICKERS IN A TWIST

J. O. TATE

MANY HAVE observed with sympathy the efforts of the Secretary of Education, Mr. William J. Bennett, to forge a national consensus for a renewed focus on curriculum, particularly in the field of the humanities. Mr. Bennett has reaffirmed the identity of the humanities, the continuity of humane studies, and the central force of literary, philosophical, and historical studies as they promote civic virtue and contribute to the tone of civilization and the cohesion of the polity. But even those who share Bennett's concern must wonder about the dreary educational establishment that will inevitably monitor and control any reform. In the world of education, somehow it's always Count Dracula who winds up chairing the local Blood Drive.

The greatest force militating against education in America today—besides intercollegiate sports, of course—is education. On some campuses, it has actually become difficult to put together a course of studies that, not so long ago, would have been considered to promote an education in the essential history of the West, the descent of philosophical inquiry, the history of the arts and literature and languages, and so on. The fragmentation and politicization of the curriculum may have already passed the point of no return. The imperatives of pragmatism, the expectations of careerists, the demands of cult groups, the increasing specialization of knowledge—many forces have nearly driven out the middle ground. Thus a recent offering of "English" courses at a local community college consisted of a bunch of sections of "freshperson" English, one course in Shakespeare, two sections of "Sexism in the Humanities," and one section of "Women in Literature." The local humanists had little to say, apparently; and this skewed representation was approved by the administration of a public institution of higher learning.

Amid a host of vectors, one contradiction can be isolated: Just as there's a conserving motion to identify a curriculum that constitutes a fundamental education, so there's a counterpull that seeks to destroy the received notion of "the Great Books," of what the educated person is expected to know. This undertow is called feminism, in its contemporary guise; and its disintegrating effect on the unity of knowledge is already well established.

Arriving with an assertive thud, *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Tradition in English*, edited by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, weighs in at just under three pounds and contains 2,457 pages. It is the cumulative expression of a torrent of "development" from Sixties radicalism through a major Seventies growth industry: academic feminism, female consciousness, global sisterhood, feminist literary theory, etc. This volume is "designed to serve as a 'core-curriculum' text for the many courses in literature by women that have been developed over the last ten years." In other words, it is meant to be a capstone and a foundation of what is known as "Women's Studies."

In the world of Women's Studies, now, what's known as "Western culture" or "the tradition" or "the canon" is routinely referred to as "patriarchal" or "phallic" or worse; for it, the wisdom of "women"—feminists, that is—would substitute a "counter-canon" exemplifying *female consciousness* upheld by a *feminine community* that is *autonomous* and *empowered*. However, there is no such thing as "the female point of view": There are as many individual female perspectives as there are women who perceive and uphold them. Neither can we identify "the male point of view," for history is, after all, a record of conflict.

The first thing to be noticed about this anthology of women's writing is that it promotes a distorted, partisan, and even contemptuous view of history. What else can we expect of a history focused from the position of contemporary feminism? Gilbert & Gubar, it seems, are highly dissatisfied with the Middle Ages. The code of chivalry and the worship of the Virgin Mary cannot deceive feminism's prickly sensitivity to "misogyny." Christianity, the cultivation of courtly virtue, the elaboration of law, the efflorescence of civilization—all of which were of direct benefit to women—do not cut the mustard as far as modern consciousness is concerned.

The editors make an appropriate claim—"We have tried to compose headnotes and period introductions that are

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as lucid and informative as possible, providing necessary historical and biographical background without interposing our own critical interpretations between the reader and the text"—but they do not justify this claim. The relentless interposition of their own "critical" interpretations can raise the question of whether students in "Women's Studies" are entitled to instruction of a quality equal to that expected in "Men's Studies" or "White Studies" or Eng. Lit. or whatever we call it this week. The editors are careful to establish the point that classical education used to be unavailable to women (though why complain, since the tradition is a tainted, "masculine" one?). But they themselves deny to their readers the indirect benefit of such an education. Is it more tedious, or more absurd, to treat Marvell and Herrick as though their ideal woman was—according to the popular formula—"a deaf, dumb, and blind nymphomaniac whose father owns a liquor store"? Vulgar reductionism can hardly go farther than this:

> But if poets like Donne and Jonson reproached women for inconstancy or wanton sexuality, such poets as Andrew Marvell and Robert Herrick and even Jonson himself censured women for clinging to virginity. Poems urging women to yield themselves to their lovers were so ubiquitous in the period as to constitute a literary tradition of their own. Based on the so-called *carpe diem* (seize the day) theme, such verses urged the beloved to yield to the importunities of her lover before it was too late. Jonson's "Come, My Celia" (1606) argues that the lovers should "prove / While we may, the sports of love" because "Time will not be ours forever; / He at length our good will sever"; Andrew Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress" (1681) explains that, if his mistress does not yield herself, "worms shall try / That long preserved virginity"; and Robert Herrick's "To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time" notoriously advises young girls to "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may, / Old Time is still a-flying."

We might as well say that Jonson's and Marvell's and Herrick's supreme effusions, lyrical flights representing the golden age of English literature, amount to no more than the poetical elevation of something like "Hi, baby—ya wanna fool around?" These works, ripped from context to show the male chauvinism of "the canon," are not represented in a manner that encourages us to take seriously the literary pronouncements of the editors. Jonson's "Come, My Celia" is a paraphrase of Catullus spoken by that knave, Volpone, in the savagely satirical play to which he gives his name. His absurd and repellent blandishments fail to impress the virtuous Celia, wife of one of his dupes, Corvino. After Volpone fails to seduce the lady with untruthful promises, he attempts rape, which is forestalled by a timely interruption. Celia protests and maintains her honor throughout the scene. Volpone is, of course, duly punished for his rogueries at the end; though no student would know it from Gilbert & Gubar's account.

Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress" is an ironical and conventional work addressed to no "real" individual. The poem contains its own denial in subtle images of violence derived from the Ovidian formula, *edax rerum*. Herrick's "To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time" reminds us that the so-called "so-called *carpe diem* theme" was indeed *carpe diem*, not *carpe feminam*, still less *carpe pudenda*. This ancient motif, reaching back as far as Anacreon and Asclepiades, was classically iterated by Horace and later, in the last gasp of a noble and epicurean Roman culture, by Ausonius. Snatching beauty from time and death is a universal theme as in Omar Khayyám and in the Christian tradition of the symbolic rose. Seen in this light, the injunction to gather rosebuds is a basic trope and a fundamental poetic impulse. To compose such verses, or to read them, is to participate in a continuity that mediates between the tradition and the individual talent. This truth is one that any student—of whatever "gender"—ought to know about poetry; but it won't be learned, apparently, in "Women's Studies."

In following this volume, that student will instead be instructed in the "transvaluation" of the past, of culture, of values. Anne Bradstreet's very real "modesty," then, "can be seen as sardonic," if only because the sardonic mode is one favored by present-day feminism. Anne Bradstreet is supposed to demonstrate "a vein of feminist anger" be-

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cause *female rage* is always to be identified and is, solipsistically, always to be found.

Also everywhere to be found is Virginia Woolf. The implied argument, that certain writers deserve attention because she said so, is circular. The magical evocation of "Virginia Woolf" becomes a species of hocus-pocus:

—" 'What a vision of loneliness and riot the thought of Margaret Cavendish brings to mind!' exclaimed Virginia Woolf in 1928."

—"It is no wonder, then, that several centuries later, Virginia Woolf paid special tribute to her memory. 'All women together ought to let flowers fall upon the tomb of Aphra Behn,' declared the author of *A Room of One's Own*, 'for it was she who earned them the right to speak their minds.' "

—"To Virginia Woolf, meditating in *A Room of One's Own* on this poet's career, it seemed 'a thousand pities that [her mind] should have been forced to [such] anger and bitterness,' yet sympathetic readers can see now that even 'spleen' became an important source of inspiration for [Anne] Finch."

—" '—How could I possibly join them on to the little bit (two inches wide) of ivory on which I work with so fine a brush, as produces little effect after much labor?' This modest deprecation of her miniature art recalls the discreet figure Virginia Woolf evokes in *A Room of One's Own*, an Austen who sits writing in the common sitting room, readying herself for inevitable interruptions by providing herself with a blotter under which she can hide her manuscripts. . . . For Woolf, Austen is ultimately 'a mistress of much deeper emotion than appears on the surface. She stimulates us to provide what is not there. What she offers is, apparently, a trifle, yet is composed of something that expands in the reader's mind and endows with the enduring form of life scenes which are outwardly trivial.' Austen is, therefore, 'the most perfect artist among women.' "

—"Through all the hardships of an exceptionally difficult life, Brontë herself had attended with special intensity to the claims of the imagination, so that, as Virginia Woolf declared seventy years after this writer's death, even now when we read *Jane Eyre*, 'we are steeped through and through

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with the genius, the vehemence, the indignation of Charlotte Brontë.' "

—" 'She has invented a sentence that we might call the psychological sentence of the feminine gender,' wrote Virginia Woolf about Dorothy Richardson's fluid and flexible transcriptions of female consciousness."

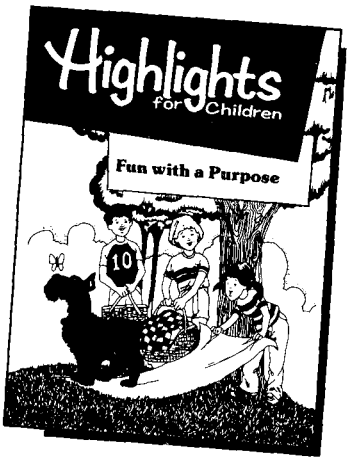
This is not all, but it gives the effect. How often, in reading this volume, one reflects, "I heard you the first time." The ceaseless drumming (Virginia Woolf's comments are supposed to hold together a female tradition of precursors, inheritors, and sisters) is ultimately counterproductive, and may even provoke allergies to "Virginia Woolf," though not to her alone. Widespread psychological damage may be in the offing: The young woman of the future may suffer nightmares in which her grandmother has been devoured by Virginia Woolf! "Oh, Grandmother, what a big subversive reputation you have."

"All the better to beat you [covertly] over the head with, my dear."

Whether the invocation of VW is as powerful a wave of the wand as the editors believe, is a matter of judgment. They seem to subscribe to all of VW's declarations, including those that do not make sense. We're back again in VW's own little roomie-woomie—that source of so many desiccated meringues: "In *A Room of One's Own*, for example, Woolf called for 'a woman's sentence,' a sentence that would be different from the 'common sentence . . . [the] man's sentence' that female writers had learned from 'Thackeray . . . Dickens, De Quincey,' for, she observed, 'the weight, the pace, the stride of a man's mind are too unlike' those of female minds for women 'to lift anything substantial' from male precursors." What this means is that young women have nothing to learn at school except the ideology of feminism, which rejects history, church, and state. And "literature." VW's claim is self-evident nonsense and historically untrue; and it is of course a form of "discrimination against women." If any man said what Virginia Woolf claimed, he'd be called a misogynist. To hold that women's minds are so different from men's is to creep toward the argument that for so long denied women suffrage. VW is as usual defending her own idiosyncratic practice—abandoning traditional fictional modes. But everyone knows that women have written superb fiction in conventional style and syntax, just as many "female poets" have excelled in the composition of verses that scan in "male" meters.

The radical insights of the new feminist literary history—the vaunted identification, for instance, of the authors of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women*—are somehow less than news, when valid. Indeed, the idea itself of "women writers" must remind every reader of his or her experiences with those writers. I am far from alone in recalling the bookcases of childhood: those intimidating stacks that rose, it seemed, to the ceiling; in which, for every Joyce, there was a Woolf, for every Dickens an Austen, and for every Fielding, Scott, or Thackeray an Eliot, a Brontë, a Gaskell. The canon has been quite conscious, thank you, of the greatest writers who were women. In my late childhood I was required to know George Eliot's real name and to understand why she took a pseudonym; all of this without Gilbert or Gubar. I was also as a youth often the willing auditor of paternal readings from "women writers"—Eudora Welty and Flannery O'Connor were two of them—who were defined to me not by their "gender" but by their imposing and demonstrable abilities, which my father delighted in. Like other literate people, I was surrounded by an environment of books and readers, a condition that was in large part controlled by women, at home and in school. I am therefore nonplussed—though not completely so—to behold the juxtaposition of the rediscovered with the reinterpreted so as to imply that the most famous and accomplished of women writers have been dependent on contemporary consciousness for understanding and recognition.

AN EXAMINATION of the selections in *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* does not reveal either "the Tradition in English" or the stature of literary achievement properly attributed to various women. Jane Austen, the object of a cult for well over a century, is represented by *Love and Freindship* [*sic*], not by *Pride and Prejudice* or *Emma*. Mary Shelley is represented by "The Mortal Immortal," not by *Frankenstein*. Emily Brontë, author of *Wuthering Heights*, which may be, all things considered, the greatest novel in the English language,



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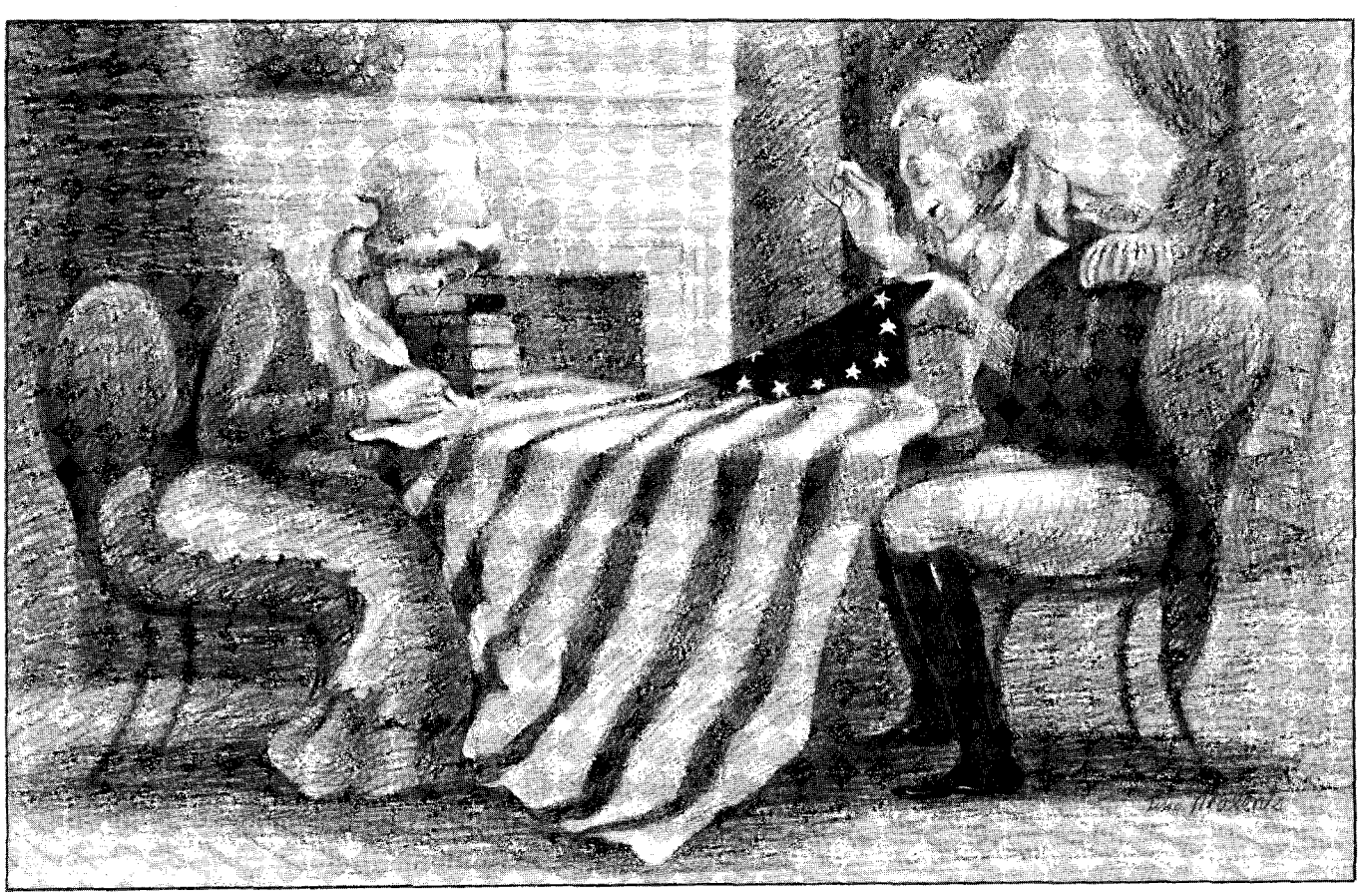
is represented by some of her poems. Emily Dickinson, who must be identified as the greatest poet America has produced, is represented only by an unremarkable selection of her work.

This volume is severely backloaded toward the present day. More than half of it is devoted to divisions called "Turn-of-the-Century Literature," "Modernist Literature," and "Contemporary Literature." These doubtful categories arbitrarily separate, for example, Edith Wharton (1862-1937) from Ellen Glasgow (1873-1945). The counter-canon that we're presented with is no more satisfying than the divisions that segregate the authors. Indeed, many of the choices made—the authors identified—by heightened awareness seem all the more absurd for being put forward as corrective of an arbitrary canon. Caroline Gordon, whose *Aleck Maury, Sportsman* (1934) deserves acknowledgment as a masterpiece, who distinguished herself in her novels, short stories, and criticism, is not here. Was there some ideological requirement or secret handclasp that Caroline Gordon lacked? At an academic conclave, I have heard hearty laughter directed at that woman, who supposed that the claims of hospitality amounted to an obligation serious enough to interrupt her writing. Miss Gordon, who consulted with her father, a teacher of classics, her husband, a critic, and her mentor, the novelist Ford Madox Ford, was represented as "seeking male validation." Thus the anachronistic projection of current feminist buzzwords, characteristically expressed in grotesque jargon and with an air of contempt, perverts rather than promotes insight and understanding. The bonds of sisterhood, are, after all, rather selective.

We don't even need to open this volume in order to be sure that one particular and richly deserved citation *cannot* be here. The opportunity to honor Laura Ingalls Wilder of *Little House on the Prairie* fame, whose undeniably female view is conveyed through an American prose of unsurpassed lucidity and simplicity, is of course refused. In spite of the trivialization of Mrs. Wilder as a writer for children or the vulgar exploitation of her work on television, we may be glad to know that the self-appointed enemies of "the canon," "suppression," and "neglect" aren't going to do anything about it when the chance comes to recognize a great American writer who was a woman. But feminists don't want to hear anything about *Those Happy Golden Years*, anyway. They want to hear about those rotten miserable years.

So we have an anthology of women's writing from which most of the best women's writing is absent. We look for Anita Loos—who was admired extravagantly by, of all people, A. E. Housman—but we don't find her. Yet there is an inexplicable excerpt from Lillian Hellman's *Pentimento*, to satisfy those who measure literature by Jane Fonda movies. We look for the poetry and fiction of Janet Lewis, but find instead the work of Diane Wakoski. We look perhaps for one of the superb short stories of Mary Lavin, but she has apparently made way for Ama Ata Aidoo, or Erica Jong, or Kamala Das. We don't find Rosamond Lehmann. We don't find Antonia White.

There's no hope of correcting the fundamental tendentiousness, endless back-projection, and tedious ideologizing of this volume; for if its totalitarian feminism were excised, its reverential unction remodulated, or its distorted choices recast, then we would not have anything like this book. Its function would be canceled entirely, for it could no longer be instrumental in a divisive cause. The "counter-canon," after all, amounts to a kind of literary quota system, an



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affirmative action of compensatory canonization that must relieve past "discrimination." With the counter-canon come the teachers thereof, their articles and theories, their networks and their journals. And this system of interrelations exists squarely in the middle of the American educational system, public and private, supported by the bureaucracy that disburses so many millions of tax dollars.

THE CONTEMPORARY young woman, then, must read Mary Rowlandson, who was "understandably irate, if not racist," about the Indians who kidnapped her. Our New Woman must know a survey of feminist polemics. She can understand the juxtaposition of Katherine Mansfield and Mourning Dove (they were both women). Modes of discourse, forms of expression are merely envelopes that convey the female point of view, feminine experience, feminist demands, the reality of women's lives, etc. The New Woman will know "the Tradition in English" that includes "the black lesbian feminist tradition," "the Chicana tradition," and so on: a heap of fragments united only by a gnostic ideology. The New Woman will comprehend the system that equates light verse by Dorothy Parker with poetry by Louise Bogan with contemporary "poems" by—whoever.

In such a context, Flannery O'Connor's "Good Country People" does not sit so well as does a selection of the interminable and superficial profundities of Anaïs Nin. The O'Connor story—is for once in this volume—well chosen and representative of the author at her best. But this parable of good and evil, presented virtually without comment, doesn't easily submit to the feminist approach, even though it is the story of an arrogant ideologue who is humiliated by a deceptive and wicked male. The end of the story leaves open the possibility of good coming out of evil: the rape of Joy-Hulga's nihilistic existentialism and false pride in the form of her artificial leg leaves her with "not a leg to stand on," and may turn her toward what is now called a "patriarchal structure," a/k/a God. Today a truly liberated Joy-Hulga—not one created by Flannery O'Connor—wouldn't be an existentialist with a PhD. She would be a theory-spouting feminist with a PhD, who would beat her assailant over the head with her prosthesis and go on triumphantly to edit *The New Feminist Review*, exalting a world view Miss O'Connor understood completely and rejected absolutely. ("As a child she had sometimes been subject to feelings of shame but education had removed the last traces of that as a good surgeon scrapes for cancer; she would no more have felt it over what he was asking than she would have believed in his Bible"). I have heard academic feminists try to deal with Flannery O'Connor as an honorary or failed lesbian, to public applause. But Miss O'Connor stood by her Church's position on birth control and morality.

Flannery O'Connor is far from the only formidable female who doesn't fit the straitjacket of contemporary presumption. Louise Bogan, that fastidious woman of letters, did not regard the tradition of her craft as patriarchal, or if she did, she embraced it. I once heard her enjoin students to "Read the Prophets! Read Homer!" if they would be poets. No one will learn to be a poet, or a proser either, from the gobbledygook amplified by the apparatus of *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*, which speaks in the following language about "Contemporary Women's Lives":

> What intensified, perhaps even triggered, the debate about female sexual liberation . . . was a series of major advances in birth-control techniques. Beginning with the repeal in the Forties and Fifties of laws forbidding the public dissemination of contraceptive information, birth-control devices like the condom and the diaphragm had become more widely available. The development in the Sixties of the birth-control pill and the IUD (intrauterine device) for women meant that for unmarried women, a new morality was now imaginable, a morality no longer grounded in the threat of pregnancy, while for married women a new control over family size was now feasible. In addition, even seemingly minor inventions such as tampons and beltless sanitary pads allowed women far greater flexibility in their activities. Particularly in the Sixties, then, women may have seemed to be on the brink of an age of utopian sexuality in which desire could at last be expressed without dread.

The vision of civilization broadcast may not be one that all parents would wish their offspring to revere:

> At the same time, activisits who gained public recognition through such dramatic actions as bra-burning, integrating all-male bars, and demonstrating at beauty contests began to issue manifestos, even as they helped popularize so-called consciousness-raising groups (small gatherings of women who met to discuss the effects of gender on their lives). In England, militants articulated "the seven demands of the Women's Liberation Movement": "1) Equal pay, 2) equal education and job opportunities, 3) free contraception and abortion on demand, 4) free 24-hour nurseries under community control, 5) legal and financial independence, 6) an end to discrimination against lesbians, 7) freedom from intimidation by . . . assumptions and institutions that perpetuate male dominance." In America, similar demands were formulated by groups like Red Stockings, SCUM (Society for Cutting Up Men), and the Feminists, while more moderate women joined the new movement when Betty Friedan organized the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966, and when the magazine *Ms.* was founded under the editorship of the journalist Gloria Steinem in 1972. In addition, in many English-speaking countries, grass-roots projects were founded in these years: child-care centers, women's health collectives, abortion clinics, rape crisis hotlines and centers, as well as shelters for battered women and abused children.

Indeed many women may feel insulted by the representation of themselves as glorified parasites:

> Led by Phyllis Schlafly, a conservative Republican, women anxious about their rights as wives and their protection as members of the second sex joined with religious fundamentalists and other upholders of traditional familial structures to claim that the amendment would bring about social chaos. Despite prolonged and arduous efforts by feminists, the ERA had not been approved by the necessary minimum of 38 states in 1982, the deadline year by which it would have had to be ratified in order to become law.
>
> That so many women were mobilized to oppose what had been defined as their own liberation dramatizes the anxieties raised by the women's movement. A conservative like Schlafly spoke not only for women who wished to preserve the prerogatives of suburban consumerism but also for women who felt empowered by precisely the fetishizing of female sexuality that characterized this era.

Gilbert and Gubar's anthology contains its own contradiction in the wit, the power, and the humanity of those

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women who have eloquently voiced universal concerns. The political, the sectarian, the essentially sociological bent of the book is finally anti-literary, being breathless for a cause. We are reminded (as how can we forget?) that we live in an age of inversion: The crank is exemplary, the fanatic an authority, the misshapen a form, and the zealot a sage. Alice James outranks Henry and William, Zelda prevails over Scott, and I don't doubt that the repressed, suppressed Mrs. Thrale is more important than Dr. Johnson. But a great poem unaccountably included in this counter-canon—Louise Bogan's "Several Voices Out of a Cloud"—says it all about the severest requirements of the canon:

Come, drunks and drug-takers; come, perverts unnerved!
Receive the laurel, given, though late, on merit; to whom
and wherever deserved.

Parochial punks, trimmers, nice people, joiners true-blue,
Get the hell out of the way for the laurel. It is deathless
And it isn't for you. □

TIME REMEMBERED

Regis Martin

Historical Consciousness: Or the Remembered Past, by John Lukacs (Schocken Books, 409 pp., $13.95)

IT WAS sometimes said of Evelyn Waugh that nearly always, when he looked at his watch, he was disappointed to find the time no later than it actually was. In this, Waugh betrayed a most unhistorical impatience. After all, what else has history to draw upon but time? And what is time but eternity's reprieve, lest everything happen all at once? Only in Heaven will time be stilled, in that perpetual present that is God's time. Meanwhile, as every creed of Christendom confirms, between the opening words that speak of God without beginning, and the closing ones that speak of world without end, what is there but time?

This is why, of course, Chesterton's celebrated Seller of Sausages is not alone in suffering irreparable harm whenever credibility in those creeds is withdrawn. Historians, too, are entirely dependent upon dogma, the truth of which fully legitimizes (and frequently does so in the face of their own persisting forgetfulness of it) the work of attempting to resurrect the life of the past. Yet, it is only the Christian historian who can hope to discharge this office well, i.e., with integrity of attention to what T. S. Eliot called "The point of intersection of the timeless / With time." Thus time, the medium of history, precisely because it remains completely the work of God—Who both created and directed it from the beginning, then entered fully into it, immersing Himself with such depth and subtlety of drama as finally to transfigure all the dust and the flesh of each human and finite thing—can truly be understood only by the historian for whom Christianity is not a detachable part of the past but rather the linchpin keeping it all together.

Nowadays there are few enough historians of that persuasion around, and of these John Lukacs is about the best in the business. Indeed, he is an exquisite example of the reactionary intellectual who early on absorbed Péguy's warning against the cowardice of writers whose ideas are all wrong lest, in making them right, they appear insufficiently progressive. Professor Lukacs is most wonderfully old-fashioned.

Hungarian by birth, his mind and sensibility shaped by the culture of Europe, Lukacs nevertheless came to this country to stay in 1946. "I came to the United States," he confesses at the end of *Historical Consciousness*,

> precisely because in many ways it represented the past, because it was a country where after two world wars many of the liberal decencies of the nineteenth century were still working, where personal freedoms, academic liberties, certain rights to privacy still existed . . . I could not then, and I cannot still now believe that the future of the West is California. The future *is* the past: I have not departed from this belief: I have but recognized some of its implications.

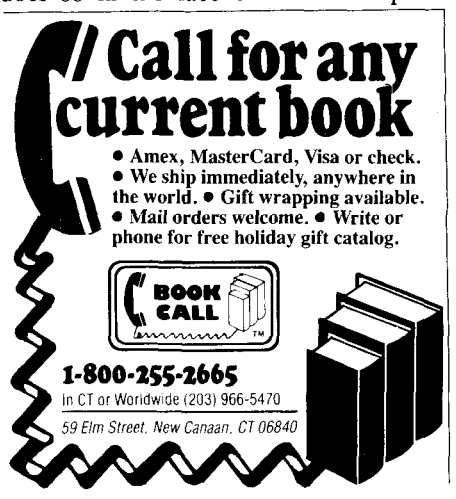
He wrote that as a postcript to the first edition of this work, published in 1968; in the present edition it stands undisturbed, the intervening years apparently not having diminished his belief that the future of the West will continue as past and not as California.

One thinks here of Faulkner, who, around the time the young Lukacs is crossing over to make a new life for himself amid so many reminders of the past, is constrained by the weight of his own past to remark: "There is no such thing really as was, because the past *is*." And who proceeds to spin a tale in which a character, musing on the Battle of Gettysburg in the peculiar consciousness of the South, lays hold of a truth that will later rivet and sustain an older Lukacs for some four hundred pages:

> It's all *now* you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago. For every Southern boy 14 years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still not yet two o'clock on that July afternoon in 1863.

Or, again, to quote the last line of Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*—a story involving a young man's recovery of a past rich enough to qualify as repository of mystery and moral wisdom—"out of history into history and the awful responsibility of Time."

Lukacs's theme is really the transcendent importance of a single contribution, namely, the emergence of historical consciousness in the life and thought of Western culture in the course of the last four centuries. It is a development that, while less celebrated than the so-called scientific revolution (whose importance, Lukacs argues, we have tended to exaggerate), nevertheless is one whose implications we have not fully assimilated. "*History*, for us, has become a form of



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thought." It is not any mere chronicle of yesteryear that we know, a tale by turns delightful and didactic; instead, to quote Owen Barfield ("one of the greatest philosophers in this century," Lukacs calls him), "history is to be grasped as something substantial . . . essential to the being of man, as an existential encounter."

> At the end of the Modern Age [Lukacs writes] the recognition of the historical dimension not merely of our existence but of our consciousness opens the way to a new philosophical unity (indeed, to a new monistic view of the universe) through a historical philosophy, which is the very opposite of a philosophy of history. The latter tried to achieve the knowledgeability of history, but a historical philosophy attempts something else, more modest but also more profound: the recognition of the historicity of human knowledge, with its inevitable limitations.

What then is to become of science? In a word, nothing at all apart from the sum of its own history, "since we all are historians by nature while we are scientists only by choice." And elsewhere: "History cannot be explained scientifically, whereas science can, and indeed it must, be explained historically." Still there is hope ("the hope that lies on the other side of despair") of lasting harmony between the two, which hope Lukacs locates in a series of daring epistemological discoveries by the great physicist Werner Heisenberg. From Heisenberg's uncertainty principle—that the position and the speed of an atomic particle can never both be known at the same time with perfect accuracy . . . which is to say, the behavior of that particle cannot be fixed independently of one's observation of it—Lukacs strings together a number of luminous recognitions that bear on the ultimate historicity of all that we know and are, including science, the myth of whose impersonal objectivity is left in a heap of salutary ruins.

> That scientific knowledge, in the end, may *not* be different from historical knowledge . . . is perhaps the most radical thesis of this book, a thesis which is therefore a herald of a new and monistic view of the universe at the end of the Modern Age, replacing the Cartesian duality established 360 years ago.

It is a story brilliantly told, and while the telling does ramble along some few stretches, it is all eminently worth reading. How wonderful it is to watch Lukacs bring down the whole corrupt Cartesian superstructure of so many minds and bodies sundered one from another. "Descartes," said Walker Percy in *Love in the Ruins*, "ripped body loose from mind and turned the very soul into a ghost that haunts its own house"—showing us a world from whose matter and history the Flying Dutchman Descartes urged us to take immediate flight, off into the ozone of pure angelic thought. "It is this historicity of our existence that Descartes did not consider. So let me," offers Lukacs, "reverse his famous phrase. *Sum, ergo cogito.* I am, therefore I think." The dream of Descartes was bound to become a nightmare in which time and memory would necessarily wither, and with them all sense of life conceived as drama, their place in the scheme of things supplanted by so many clear and distinct ideas. The great merit of this book is that it helps ensure our consciousness against those Cartesian slumbers, pouring in the life and the warmth of our remembered past. We should be grateful. □

THE REAL WORLD OF JOURNALISM

Joseph Sobran

The News at Any Cost, by Tom Goldstein (Simon & Schuster, 301 pp., $18.95)

OVER THE last few years some big news stories have concerned journalists, periodicals, networks, publishers, and others who themselves make their fame and fortune reporting the news: *Time*, CBS, Ben Bradlee, Abe Rosenthal, Milton Coleman, George Will, Mike Wallace, Janet Cooke, Dan Rather, Rupert Murdoch, Alistair Reid, Alexander Cockburn, R. Foster Winans, Myron Farber, William Greider, Daniel Schorr, Michael Kinsley, Laurence Barrett, and Geraldo Rivera, to name a few.

Some of the stories have been scandalous. Others have raised ethical questions. In *The News at Any Cost: How Journalists Compromise Their Ethics to Shape the News*, Tom Goldstein takes a fairly jaundiced view of it all. Gold-

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stein has been a reporter and a press secretary, and is currently a journalism teacher. His book doesn't settle the deep issues, but it gives you a lively sense of what really goes on in the news business.

Journalism, he argues, isn't really a profession, the way law is a profession. It's not well defined as an area of activity; it has no real code of ethics; it doesn't require any training to speak of. And yet it enjoys special constitutional protection, and its practitioners give themselves insufferable airs.

They talk about "journalistic ethics," "investigative reporting," "the adversary press," and the like. Such phrases are meant to create an aura of sanctity around their often grubby business. Goldstein isn't buying this. He knows too much about cronyism, venality, deceit, sloppiness, ambition, and other traits common in the trade, all of which he illustrates vividly.

Not that this is a hatchet job. He writes with respect of Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*, who was an excellent reporter when he covered the Supreme Court and the Department of Justice. But Lewis also doubled as an activist and advocate. He hobnobbed with high government officials in Washington, including Robert Kennedy, and helped shape government policy backstage.

"In manipulating behind the scenes a story that he was covering, in giving advice privately to a public figure, Lewis—an exceptional journalist with an exceptional intellect—went beyond the bounds of appropriate journalism," Goldstein writes. "The proper way for Lewis to change policy would have been to write a story or series of stories about faults in the government's position. Instead, unbeknownst to his readers he became a lobbyist and a part of the very story he was covering."

This sounds reasonable. But one wishes Goldstein, himself an obviously intelligent man, had deepened the argument. Yes, Lewis was disingenuous with his readers, but is that all there is to it? Would it be proper for a reporter to design his news coverage to achieve a desired policy result? Wouldn't that have been equally disingenuous in another way? Then again, though I'm no fan of Lewis's myself, I can't see that what he did was necessarily unethical. Journalism isn't so pure an activity as to require a monastic separation of functions.

In other words, what is wrong with journalism is less its practice than its pretensions. If you take seriously its occasional claim of neutrality, then Lewis's backstage activism is scandalous. But I don't think it has to be neutral, as long as it doesn't claim to be. I'm content to judge journalists by ordinary standards of honesty, without positing too much in the way of distinctively "journalistic" ethics.

The real trouble is that reporters and their editors have been misled by their own misunderstanding of the First Amendment into supposing they should enjoy a special status in law and in public life. This leads them to make contradictory claims. On the one hand, they assert "the public's right to know" when they want to disclose facts others want to conceal; then again, they claim "confidentiality of sources" when they want to conceal what others think deserves disclosure. The source of a leak is often part of the real story, and the whole truth can be abridged and distorted by the discretion of the journalist who has an axe to grind.

There is a similar contradiction between the journalist's conception of himself as a crusader or reformer, on the one hand, and his defensive insistence that he is simply a messenger (who shouldn't be shot for bringing bad news), on the other. A messenger who decides what messages to deliver is something more than a messenger.

Goldstein quotes me as saying: "The American reporter is not a neutral umpire, but, rather, one of the players." He seems to agree, but he isn't so clear as to why he disapproves of this state of affairs. Of course we all agree that the first duty of a reporter is to be accurate. That is an irreducible point of consensus. What is murkier is the question of completeness. How much must a reporter report? When does omission become concealment? How frank should he be about the purposes that govern his reportage?

Especially in a democracy, publicity is a weapon. A frequent purpose of

RANDOM NOTES

☐ More October Titles: *Burma: The Longest War 1941-1945* (St. Martin's, $29.95), by Louis Allen—who himself fought in Southeast Asia in World War II—is a solid and careful history of the Burma campaign, in which the Allies, having been driven from that country into India by the Japanese, launched a lengthy, bitter counteroffensive ending in a victory to which, in Allen's opinion, the American contribution was small. . . . *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Doubleday, $19.95), by Jay P. Dolan, adopts an essentially individualistic perspective—as distinguished from an institutional and hierarchical one—to create a popular history of Catholicism in the United States.

My Life for the Poor (Harper & Row, $10.95), by Mother Teresa, edited by José Luis González-Balado and Janet N. Playfoot, is an arrangement of spoken musings by the Nobel Peace Prize winner as set down by two admirers in a form approximating that of autobiography, to moving effect.

☐ Coming in November: *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II* (Oxford, $22.95; paper, $14.95), by William H. Chafe, emphasizes the relation between politics and the popular mind, addressing itself to progress achieved in equalities of "race, class, and gender," but acknowledging the failures of liberalism since 1968.

Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business (Viking, $17.95), by Neil Postman, argues that the impact of television on American culture has led to the decline of the efficacy of the printed word and the evisceration of literate culture in general.

In *Frank and Maisie: A Memoir with Parents* (Simon & Schuster, $17.95), Wilfrid Sheed describes a childhood spent in the Catholic literary establishment, in which his parents (Maisie Ward, of a distinguished English family, and Frank Sheed, an Australian), as founders of the firm of Sheed and Ward, known as "the Tiffany of Catholic publishing," loomed large.

Piaf (Putnam, $16.95), by Margaret Crosland, looks to be an interesting biography of the French singer who, though she has been dead now twenty years, remains something of an enigma, as a person if not as an artist. —CW

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reporting is to embarrass a public official—often for partisan, selfish, vindictive, or ideological reasons. This is a dimension of journalism that Goldstein should have given specific attention to. He ignores the ideological motives of journalists almost completely. He seems to be assuming that the journalist can and should be an impartial conveyer of information, whereas the very "facts" journalism traffics in are sometimes highly colored by philosophical presuppositions. It may be easy to be "objective" about axe murders and hurricanes. But what about terms like "poverty," "peace," and "discrimination"? These are subjects of passionate debate, and the reporter has to decide what to treat as (in Richard Weaver's phrase) uncontested terms, terms of moral import that are exempt from critical analysis. Often the reporter decides without realizing it. If the idea of journalistic ethics means anything, it should include the duty of maintaining a certain rhetorical skepticism. But that skepticism is largely absent when the press reports on "civil rights," "feminism" and "peace marches."

The News at Any Cost therefore combines practical sophistication, within a small conceptual framework, with an unfortunate naïveté about bigger questions. Its value is that it gives a colorful and well-informed account of the shenanigans of reporters who adopt disguises, invent phony quotes, invade privacy, and otherwise misbehave. Its limitation is that it isn't the critique of a powerful institution that the times demand. □

PAZ'S PINATA

D. Keith Mano

The Labyrinth of Solitude, by Octavio Paz (Grove Press, 398 pp., $9.95)

IN 1950, when *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (to which the book of the same name under review is a belated appendage) first came out, it must have seemed a national indiscretion, as if Deng Xiaoping had spoken on infant exposure or Satyajit Ray about Delhi belly. Mexican men—need I remind you—are macho.

Which means, according to Octavio Paz, that they live in perpetual solitude. A hermetic tribe for whom "openness" is pure shame. The Mexican male will not confide or share or even display a knowable face. He has form-fitted a disguise—and that make-up job becomes, in time, no less real than the contour under it. He certainly would never write with such revealing candor as Paz advanced in 1950. An ideal man is vanquisher, ripper-open, Machiavel, rogue. (Homosexuality can be macho in Mexico—if you're the aggressor. Bottom men, of course, are contemptible: they've opened themselves.) Romantic love, naturally, doesn't take off in this cryptic, trickster-ish environment. Women get little respect. They are, after all, biologically "open,"—vulnerable, passive, and dangerous. Only during fiesta does the Mexican male ribsaw himself apart. Yet that, too, is ritual. "We are not frank, but our sincerity can reach extremes that horrify a European."

We should be grateful, we *gringos*—it is a considerable boon—that America has never experienced conquest. Not only can defeat shame you and crater the heart, but it will also braid your ancestral roots something awful. Mexico has a clogged sewer-pipe full. What, anyway, is *Mexican*? For background Paz distinguishes British colonization from Spanish. Indian people in North America either were killed or got a general eviction notice. The Spanish, by contrast, had to absorb. They imposed Catholicism and autocratic rule on top of Aztec sacrificial religion and autocratic rule. That transfer, in fact, was quite smooth. (Catholicism, Paz insists generously, gave the Aztec a spiritual reference: Jesus, too, was sacrificed.) The difference between America and Mexico is the difference between Reformation (individualism, personal God) and Counter Reformation (rigid structure, communal God). Yet Aztec civilization remained, pentimento-like, under Spanish cultural lacquer. Suppose a WASP New Yorker had nagging, vague memories of some Iroquois council fire.

But the subsequent reform and revolutionary movement—which drew on European positivist language—could never quite accord with darker, bloodier Mexican archetypes. A serious disjunction has taken place. Paz suggests,

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nonetheless, that Aztec influences still after-shock. Even the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has a pyramidal shape. There is no other medium for advancement in Mexico: power rises and can only converge. The PRI, though absolute, is not ideological. For that reason it has never become totalitarian. At pyramid top, where God once resided, a president now rules. His authority is complete, but not personal. It depends on a bureaucratic godhead conferred, for one term, by party-pyramid. In time some new God will rise from the old term. (Paz himself was a government official. He resigned after the 1968 student massacre, which he compares to ritual bloodletting.) But Mexican obsession with Aztec tyranny and extremism is mistaken. Indeed, Paz emphasizes, Aztec conquest was a late barbarian adventure. The great period of meso-American culture —Mayan, Zapotec, El Tajín—had long pre-dated it. And was neither centralizing nor brutal.

But it was hardly your New England town meeting either. The American ideological export department should remind itself that democratic (let alone capitalistic) institutions often appear outlandish, sterile, and impersonal in foreign weather. If your religious and customary template is an Aztec pyramid or some local chieftain or Czar Nicholas II, shifting to repre-

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

THERE ARE, God knows, plenty of reasons to hold suspect the movement (of which much has been heard recently, especially during and since the presidential campaign of 1984) for a "national industrial policy" (NIP), the most important being that it represents an attempt to reintroduce by the back door visions of the New Deal and the Great Society that have been discredited by time and rejected by the American voting public. "We are all capitalists now," the argument (post-Reagan) runs. "So let's put capitalism on a national, rationalized, efficient, and truly *caring* basis." . . . That, more or less, is the gravamen of the speeches and policy outlines issuing from such politicians as Gary Hart, Walter Mondale, Senator Ernest Hollings, Representative William Ford (of Michigan), and Felix Rohatyn, as well as from academicians like Robert Reich (author of *The Next American Frontier*, 1983) and Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison (co-authors of *The Deindustrialization of America*, 1982) —the latter pair being, however, a good deal less careful than most to conceal their ultimate intentions. In his book *Competing Visions: The Political Conflict over America's Economic Future* (Cato Institute, 224 Second Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003; $20; $8.95 paper), Richard B. McKenzie—a senior fellow of the Heritage Foundation and an adjunct scholar with Cato —confronts the proponents of NIP, to devastating effect.

McKenzie starts off briskly by attacking what he calls "the deindustrialization hoax" upon which the call for a national industrial policy rests. According to the advocates of NIP, the United States has been subject, since the 1960s, to an ever deepening "economic malaise," an "unraveling" of its economy produced by the shutting down of the American manufacturing sector, itself a result of the mobility of capital, an increasingly competitive world economy, and rapid technological progress with which American industry is unable to keep pace. In McKenzie's opinion, all or most of the argument is patently self-serving: "A gross misconstruction of the economic circumstances of and policy options for this country is not only intended by many . . . of the proponents of a national industrial policy, but it is absolutely necessary for pulling off the dramatic changes in policy that they seek." In fact, a great many of the facts deployed by the NIP crowd are indisputable: It is with their interpretation, as well as with the selective principle behind their rhetorical deployment, that McKenzie takes issue. During the 1970s particularly, the U.S. economy was subjected to many stresses arising from internal transition, as well as external pressures, and yet, since 1979—the year at which many of the more pessimistic critics cease their researches—the signs of its fundamental recovery have been so numerous as, one might think, to be beyond oversight. Furthermore, the successes enjoyed by countries whose governments engage in a substantial measure of economic planning are far from being as great, or as unqualified, as the NIPers would have them.

To an astounding degree the arguments advanced for national industrial planning resemble those heard in the Capitol during the 1930s, halcyon days for such quaint historical figures as Rexford G. Tugwell, Harold Ickes, Hugh Johnson, and Harry Hopkins. There is the same conviction—naïve to the point of imbecility—of human society as a clockwork orange composed of "sectors" and "vectors"; the same belief in the ability of "planners" to move men and institutions about like pieces on a chessboard, as if each of these were not, as Adam Smith reminded us, possessed of an inherent principle of motion independent of the interfering hand; the same trust in "public discussion" and the ballot, whereby citizens in a democracy are brought to embrace, as citizens, economic solutions that they would reject as workers, consumers, and entrepreneurs; the same arrogant assumption that a congeries of bureaucrats sequestered in the labyrinthine corridors of Washington can comprehend—and manage—an economic system composed of hundreds of millions of citizens pursuing daily their appointed rounds, looking after their considered needs. "The case against managed capitalism," McKenzie concludes,

> . . . is actually a set of arguments for constraints on the economic powers of government. Namely, government must be relegated to the very important and difficult task of developing the economic climate in which all firms operate, and it must be denied the capacity to manage market outcomes, which inevitably translates into a power to pick "winners" and "losers." . . . It is an argument for encouraging industrialists and workers alike to direct their energies toward producing the goods and services that we all want, not toward manipulating government policies.

National socialism has too grisly a history to be termed quaint, but what about the Fabians in England? How about the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in America? (Would you buy a used 1932 Marmon from FDR?) □

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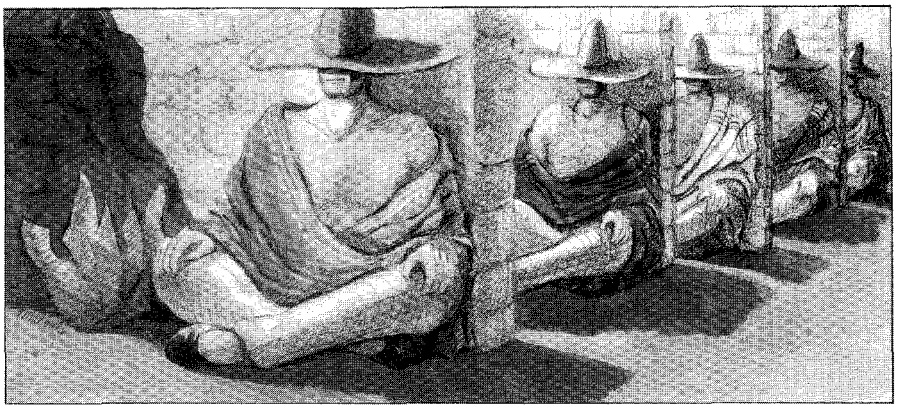

sentative government may feel downright sacrilegious. Democracy, for good or bad, requires a modern sense of self. And of nationhood. The Mexican —Creole or Indian or Mestizo—has just recently begun to consider himself *Mexican* at all. Imagine *being* Chadean or Namibian. There are two fundamental (and almost adventitious) reasons for Communist Third World success that get little coverage. a) Communism will emphasize, however hypocritically, the group over the personal. b) It most often provides an authoritarian *caudillo* or boss. Even under bitterest repression most tribal or just-post-tribal people are more comfortable with these thought-forms than they could be with the disquieting responsibility of the franchise or a consciousness-raised and expansive self.

But Paz may have broken his imaginative *piñata* in 1950. This collection—quilted together from *Labyrinth* spinoffs, a *New Yorker* essay, one interview—is quite repetitious. On the modern condition, development, debt, Mexico *v.* America, Paz doesn't have much to add. Maybe he gave up in macho reticence. Paz is even-tempered, clear, and remarkably fair throughout: qualities that are rare in political writing south of Nogales. If, though, as his jacket blurb will assert, this "trenchant analysis of Mexican society . . . has yet to be equaled," then Mexico is in an unfortunate intellectual stasis. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Vindication of Tradition, by Jaroslav Pelikan (Yale, 93 pp., $10.95)

STERLING PROFESSOR of History at Yale University and one of the most distinguished humanistic scholars in the world today, Jaroslav Pelikan delivered the 1983 Thomas Jefferson Lecture sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities. This short, magisterial volume is the result. Pelikan is a scholar of the history of Christianity and author of the highly esteemed *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (four volumes to date) and many other books. His concise *Vindication* (93 pages, including notes) ought not to be missed, as it embodies a restoration of concentricity and sanity after the "incessant autobiography" and intellectual promiscuity of the 1960s and their aftermath. Pelikan provides a fine contrast to the fecklessness and sheer nuttiness of a good deal of modern literary scholarship, especially that emanating from the English Department at his own university, where every man is his own Messiah and the critic-heroes melodramatically wrestle with "the anxiety of influence" and busily "deconstruct" literary meaning, coherence, and canon. In contrast to this mock-Promethean "dissidence of dissent," the bitter end of secularized Protestantism and Judaism, romanticism, existentialism, and "spilt religion" generally, Pelikan, a Lutheran, has rediscovered true, ecumenical Catholicism. His real hero, in this volume and two other recent ones, is that great, deep, antiseptic thinker John Henry Newman, "the nineteenth century's principal exponent of the recovery of tradition." Like Eliot, especially in "Tradition and the Individual Talent" and *After Strange Gods*, Pelikan judiciously analyzes the importance, sanity, and vitality of orthodox tradition in its various kinds of subdivisions, distinguishing it from both "pedantic traditionalism" and "arbitrary subjectivity," and insists that by "including the dead in the circle of discourse, we enrich the quality of the conversation." (It is revealing that at crucial junctures in his argument Pelikan quotes lovely phrases in explication and defense of the nourishing truth of tradition from a writer not named in the text, G. K. Chesterton, who said of himself: "I am the man who, with the utmost daring, discovered what was discovered before.") In its defiance of our noisy, nihilistic modern American amnesia, this short, eloquent book brings great credit to its author, his university, and the Godly and humane tradition he represents, the tradition of Arnold *and* Newman: of the best that has been thought, said, and done, within and beyond the world. M. D. AESCHLIMAN

The War Diaries of Jean-Paul Sartre: November 1939-March 1940, translated by Quintin Hoare (Pantheon, 366 pp., $17.95)

SOME PHILOSOPHERS use their diaries as more or less disposable sketch pads, paper cups in which to catch a brainstorm's quick shower. But the five surviving notebooks kept by Jean-Paul Sartre during the early months of the Second World War resemble a finished treatise as often as they do a collection of jottings. "This brings us to the origin of the symbol, about which I'll speak tomorrow," he writes on February 23, 1940. Indeed, after being called up from the reserves to do meteorological work, he views the notebooks as a means of "continuing to live publicly," rather than as an opportunity to cherish a privacy diminished by military routine. Sartre admits to "a horror of private diaries," conceding that his own has "no intimacy." It is a chilly and self-justifying affair, the book of a man already speaking to his future biographers. He will give only elusive mention to "an event in my personal life of no interest here" before proceeding to another elaboration of theory. The daily texture of life—usually the greatest appeal of a diary —is fingered only fitfully. "For our landlady, who is afraid of the air raids, the meaning of the weather has been reversed. She opens her shutters and smiles at the rain, just as she once used to smile at the sunshine." Even in wartime there is more in heaven and earth than in philosophy, but Sartre is bent toward abstraction, not observation. Sartre views these months of the "Phony War" as a kind of laboratory provided by government grant, a time and place wherein he

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can proceed with his investigations of nothingness and authenticity. The existential nuggets of his entire system are here: "I am a finite being, deeply and totally responsible for myself." Students of his mature work will find specific germinations of it in these notebooks. He prefigures *The Words* in his analysis of childhood memories, and seems to begin work on his monumental psychobiography of Flaubert via extended reflections upon Emil Ludwig's book about Kaiser Wilhelm. He admits to a persistent "fear of being taken in," a fear that inflicts upon him the sterility of the too-analytic mind. He anticipates holiday celebrations in 1939 by writing: "I'd like to see that soldier's Christmas. But it will be as a tourist, whereas one would really need to be caught up in it." One can't read passages like this without thinking that if Sartre's prescriptions are the roads to freedom then, indeed, as Orwell's nightmare had it, freedom is slavery. THOMAS MALLON

The King of the Cats, by F. W. Dupee (University of Chicago, 363 pp., $28)

READERS OF Jeffrey Hart's *When the Going Was Good!* may recall a particularly ironic "camera eye" devoted to the long, disorderly life of F. W. Dupee, a highly regarded professor of English at Columbia University who flirted desperately with all the latest trends: Stalinism, orgone boxes, tweed jackets, homosexuality, student riots. Mr. Dupee's sundry enthusiasms apparently kept him away from his typewriter most of the time; his entire published output would fit in a good-sized shoebox. More's the pity, as the University of Chicago Press has reminded us by issuing an expanded edition of *The King of the Cats*, Mr. Dupee's 1965 collection of periodical essays in what he liked to call "literary portraiture." A relaxed, graceful stylist, Mr. Dupee had a wildly eclectic range of interests: Casanova, Samuel Butler, J. F. Powers, Nabokov, Max Beerbohm. Mary McCarthy's admiring introduction places Mr. Dupee squarely in the Sainte-Beuvian line of descent, ranking him above Edmund Wilson ("a fineness of intuition of which Wilson with his wounds and bows was incapable") and praising his "conversational" tone. Ex-wifely pique may have been what caused Miss McCarthy to drag Wilson into it, but in every other respect she is right as rain. The eight new pieces added to this edition include Mr. Dupee's brilliant *New York Review of Books* essay on Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* ("it is surely to Capote's credit that one cannot quite suspend one's disbelief that *In Cold Blood* is a novel") and an introduction to *The Way of All Flesh* so sympathetic and articulate as to make one almost disagree with Malcolm Muggeridge's famously jaundiced view of Samuel Butler. TERRY TEACHOUT

CARPENTER

(Continued from page 39)

Moreover, Greece bowed to Soviet demands that Bokhan's wife and eight-year-old daughter be returned to Moscow without the opportunity to request asylum or defect.

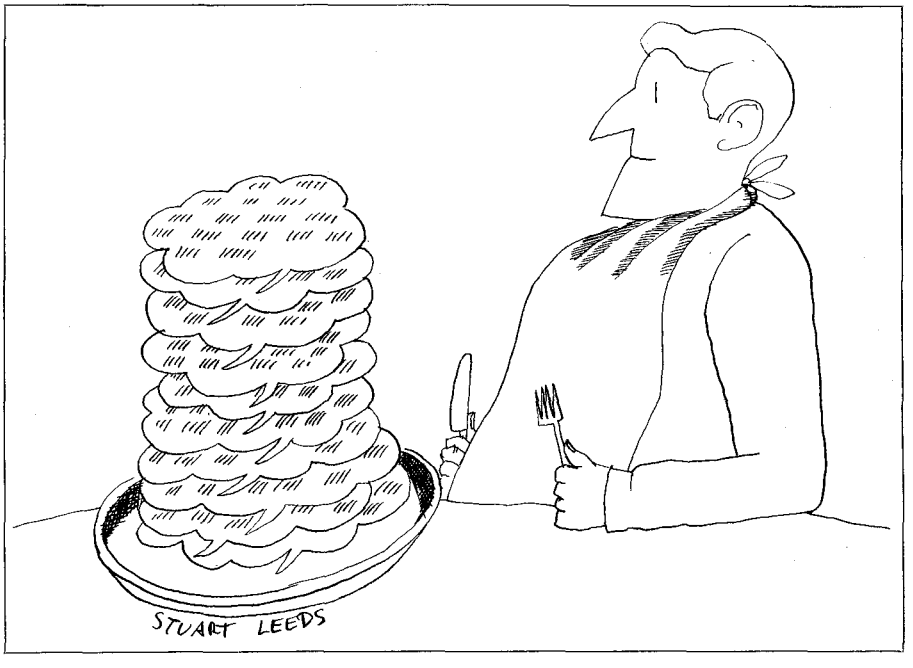
Other curiosities and contradictions have arisen. The Papandreou government, for instance, has attempted to present the entire espionage "crackdown" as a direct result of investigative wizardry by the Greek security and intelligence units alone, despite indications by Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle that the U.S. closely cooperated with Greece on the issue. Further, the assertion by certain Greek government officials that only one military officer is involved in the scandal is at odds with published reports—citing Greek security sources—that anywhere from 18 to 25 officers are under investigation.

The subject has caused a heated political controversy as well. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) has denied (as expected) any Soviet infiltration in Greece, claiming that the U.S. has trumped up the whole affair to create "anti-Soviet hysteria" and to "blackmail and intimidate" Papandreou's foreign policy. KKE leaders, faithful *apparatchiki* all, also want the state intelligence system dismantled, restructured, and put under party control—including, if not especially, theirs.

Papandreou's party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), of course holds that the conduct of the government and the intelligence services is above reproach. Conservatives scoff, however, and point to the recent arrest of a state intelligence employee on charges of terrorism. "Under PASOK," remarks one observer, "the security forces have become a collection of spies and thugs."

The conservative opposition party, New Democracy (ND), suggests that Papandreou is a prime candidate for a spine transplant: "The government appears feeble and embarrassed and unable to protect law and order or our external security," reads an ND statement. "The prime minister himself obviously realizes how tragically weak his position is, with the threat of the Bokhan revelations hanging over him."

That further arrests are forthcoming, thanks to Sergei Bokhan's disclosures, seems more or less assured—provided that PASOK continues to be cooperative. But even so, the bad news is



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that the Soviets will suffer temporary setbacks only, and will soon regroup.

And what of Igor Andropov? Well, he isn't making himself available for comment right now: He's in Moscow, and he won't be back. That leaves in charge one Vladimir Pushkin, who was expelled from Britain in 1971. For espionage. □

BETHELL

(Continued from page 42)

earthquake "Nation in Jeopardy" series, and between them they covered several square yards of newsprint, reporting many interesting facts but not one touching on the underlying cause of the Mexican problem: the insecurity of property, which is continually exposed to the threat of expropriation. This is really what is meant by those who say, usually approvingly, that the Mexican revolution is "still continuing." Indeed it is.)

Foreign eligibility for U.S. aid is determined by GNP-per-capita statistics compiled by the World Bank. When they lose their eligibility, successful countries are said to "graduate." Three countries that graduated years ago are Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. They are of great interest and importance because they all experienced land reform of a sort and they are repeatedly cited in the land-reform literature as great success stories, proving that land reform really does work. And critics of land reform must concede that economic progress in these countries has been perhaps unrivaled anywhere since World War II. What did this success have to do with land reform?

Again, the great problem with land reform is this: The government that imposes it enlarges its own power over citizens' lives. However well intended, this represents a step away from the rule of law. A ruler who can change the pattern of ownership with the stroke of a pen is more tyrant than lawgiver. If he can do it once, he can do it again. No property is then secure, as we saw in Iran, as we see today in Mexico, and of course in the Communist countries.

Land reform was imposed in Japan by decree of General Douglas MacArthur in December 1945—along with a new constitution and elections. The Japanese were not merely defeated, they were willing to accept "the American way" as the price of defeat. They could surely see that MacArthur was not seizing power for *himself*. He was not establishing a tyranny for his own benefit, but was intervening under circumstances that would not be repeated. Whereas Marcos, Duarte, and the Shah went some way toward undermining the rule of law in their countries, MacArthur imposed it on Japan. The Japanese accepted it, no doubt because they could see that the new system was designed to *obstruct* the arbitrary exercise of power, so that the future was likely to be more secure, thus encouraging the people to go about their business in a spirit of hopefulness. Furthermore, the system had evidently served the Americans well enough to defeat the hitherto invincible Japanese!

Peasants Forever

It was the same in South Korea, formerly a Japanese colony, with about 15 per cent of its land owned by Japanese. (And these really were the archetypal absentee landlords.) Again, the Americans arrived, imposed elections and a new constitution, and restored the Japanese-held lands to Koreans. The Koreans for their part had no reason to believe the victorious Americans were seeking personal or political gain, and so they could anticipate that this external intervention would not be repeated.

Likewise in Taiwan. After the Chinese Communist victory in 1949, General Chiang Kai-shek's remnant retreated to Formosa under U.S. auspices and there a Joint (U.S.-China) Commission on Rural Reconstruction imposed the new property arrangement on the old Formosan aristocracy. This "defeat" was likewise accepted by the Formosans, and the rule of law established.

None of this would have worked if the Americans had attempted to establish collective farms, as in El Salvador. In all three countries property rights were assigned individually, titles were issued, and these *titles were fully transferrable*. (In Japan there was a ten-year delay before titles could be transferred.) Owners, that is, could sell their land to others who in turn could do what they liked with it. In Taiwan today, land is rapidly being converted from agricultural to more highly valued industrial use. Land-reform zealots are usually opposed to such permissiveness because, they believe, it will "dispossess" the peasants. One can only reply that where there are doctrinaire land-reformers there will always be peasants. Where there are property rights, peasantry will soon disappear.

How odd that the great guru of land reform, Wolf Ladejinsky, a Ukrainian immigrant to the U.S. who worked for ten years at the Department of Agriculture before joining MacArthur's staff in 1945, never understood why land reform had worked in Japan. In later years he traipsed disconsolately about Asia, conducting unsuccessful agrarian experiments in different countries, becoming (it seemed) increasingly disgruntled and radical. Shortly before his death he told a World Bank seminar: "If we are to wait until the peasantry of India—or for that matter a number of other Asian countries—decide to take the law into their own hands and fight for an out-and-out radical agrarian revolution, I think we would have to wait for a long, long time."

But the Japanese peasants didn't take the law into their own hands. The law was given to them. □

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THE LESSONS OF GRENADA

NEW YORK, OCT. 14

CONGRESSMEN Newt Gingrich (Republican from Georgia) and Ike Skelton (Democrat from Missouri) have come up with a very bright idea. It is to ordain the week of October 20 to 26 "The Lessons of Grenada Week." The purpose of it all?

It is disconcerting how ungratefully we deal with the little lodes of vital information we come upon. We are a nation whose tradition called on us to Remember the Alamo and, as recently as a generation ago, to Remember Pearl Harbor. But although it was only two years ago that it all happened, we haven't until now heard a voice enjoining us to Remember Grenada.

Why?

Grenada is infinitely interesting. Begin only with the historical point. It is the first country ever substantially controlled by the Soviet Union that has been emancipated. Indeed if we are at all optimistic about the future, we may indulge ourselves in the thought that future generations will point to Grenada as the high-water mark of Soviet imperialism, even as historians point to Trier as the westernmost point of the Mongol invasion, arrested in the thirteenth century. All the more significant if we remind ourselves of the Brezhnev Doctrine. It is the one that reads, idiomatically: What is ours is permanently ours. What is yours is up for grabs. A more formal version of the Brezhnev Doctrine is that the entire socialist world (as they style themselves) is committed to the irreversibility of socialism (read, Communism) wherever it is established. By the rules of the Brezhnev Doctrine, Grenada should not have been allowed to happen.

That much is easy to remember. But the call for a week devoted to the study of "The Lessons of Grenada" acknowledges that there is much more to consider than merely the bare historical episode. And the reason for this is that when U.S. troops landed in Grenada two years ago they discovered documents that give us a most extraordinary, detailed account of how it is that the Soviet Union goes about colonizing a little country, with the aid of indigenous fellow-travelers.

Under the sponsorship of the State Department and the USIA, two scholars (Michael Ledeen and Herbert Romerstein) were deputized to try to put together in manageable size a cross-section of those documents, their purpose being to tell us, or to remind us, of the kind of things the Soviets do when they are engaged in colonizing. The book that grew out of that effort is called *Grenada Documents: An Overview and Selection*, and is available from the Department of State and the Department of Defense for $19. Do not be shocked by the price. Be shocked by the size of it. The pagination is not sequential, so that one can only guess at the number of pages, which I would put at, oh, 1,500. Moreover the compilers tell you, in their foreword, that they could have given us another document of equal size and of equal significance, so abundant was the documentary quarry that gave us memorandums, treaties, secret plans for expansion, the record of foreign activities: the whole paraphernalia that goes with the implantation of a Communist revolution, and then its extension.

The authors' summary begins with the sentence, "The revolution that overthrew the Gairy regime in Grenada in April 1979 was designed to create a Communist society and to bring Grenada into the Soviet orbit." That is plain language, but no plainer than what the documents proceed to establish. There is even a comprehensive "Line of March" document that was marked confidential and consecutively numbered by hand. We come upon details that remind us of the *modus operandi* of revolutionaries. Here Comrade Bishop explains how you go about detaining a suspect:

"We don't go and call for no votes. You get detained when I sign an order . . . Once I sign it—like it or don't like it—it's up the hill for them." Special duties are assigned to agents to "monitor" all sermons, with a view to "the controlling of all hirachy [*sic*]." And there was the grand sense of engagement in an international effort, as when Marshal N. V. Ogarkov, Soviet Chief of Staff, informs his Grenadian counterpart, Major Einstein Louison, that, "over two decades ago, there was only Cuba in Latin America, today there are Nicaragua, Grenada, and a serious battle is going on in El Salvador."

The Gingrich-Skelton idea is for a week to be given to debates, speeches, resolutions, high-school lectures, television and radio shows. The purpose? To learn from history. And to remind ourselves that we still control the destiny of the free world. □

COUNTDOWN

NEW YORK, OCT. 18

THE PRINCIPALS are circling in advance of the confrontation at Geneva, and Gorbachev is doing the usual things and in the classical mode. He is smoother than his predecessors. You will recall that when the Communists tried in 1983-84 to intimidate Western Europe into refusing to deploy the theater nuclear weapons aimed at compensating for the Soviet SS-18s, Andropov and Gromyko huffed and puffed their threats and cajoleries, and it didn't work. The style this time around is more classical: divide and conquer. Thus Gorbachev a) intones the comprehensive danger of U.S. research into Star Wars, and b) suggests that perhaps France and England might make individual deals with the Soviet Union respecting nuclear inventories.

Meanwhile Mr. Reagan smilingly reiterates his main point, which is that nothing is going to stop him from pursuing research into ways of protecting people from nuclear war other than Mutual Assured Destruction. And Caspar Weinberger previews an analysis of the outstanding Soviet 50 per cent offer by suggesting that the Soviets are in fact suggesting something along the lines of their giving up half of their most obsolete instruments, while we give up our most modern instruments, and

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all of our technological advances toward the most modern instrument of them all, which, of course, is Star Wars.

An assistant to President Mitterrand analyzed Gorbachev's appearance as "using Paris as a platform to speak to others." Once again, a standard technique. The head of the Soviet Union, whoever he is—Lenin, Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, Gorbachev—always finds echo chambers in the West for those allurements (peace & plenty) with which he seeks to charm while practicing his wiles (terrorism & starvation). The Union of Concerned Scientists, in which dozens of distinguished American scientists are enrolled, thinks nothing of beginning a routine communication to its members with the sentence, "President Reagan believes that he has a strong mandate to continue his aggressive campaign against the Soviet Union and his massive buildup of nuclear weapons."

Well, there is nothing we can do to launder the rhetoric of Soviet leaders, save to appeal to reason. Confronted with the above sentence, two leading members of the Union of Concerned Scientists declined to specify exactly how President Reagan was waging an "aggressive campaign" against the Soviet Union, except to say that President Reagan has said things about the Soviet Union that are provocative. Right ho. And Moses said things to the infidels that were provocative. But then you ask, What happens if you provoke the Soviet Union? A nuclear war? And they answer: Impossible. No one can win a nuclear war! Then you say, Well, tell us, what harm is done in "provoking" the Soviet Union? And they decline to specify, save to tell you that the arms race will resume. If you counter that the arms race never ceased where the Soviet Union is concerned, they tend to change the subject. As would you, if you had that position to defend.

IT BECOMES every day more clear that the Soviet Union is deathly afraid of our Star Wars technology. Viewed abstractly, one wonders why anyone should be afraid of someone else's defensive measures. If your neighbor were to build up a huge inventory of bulletproof vests, it is hard to know in what way he is committing a provocative act. If on the other hand he builds a huge inventory of Molotov cocktails and hand grenades and sawed-off shotguns, you will understandably become twitchy. The only serious argument against the development and deployment of Star Wars (assuming it can be got to work, and this we cannot know for sure until we try it, even as we could not know for sure we could land on the moon until we did so) is that our development of this Strategic Defensive Initiative would so undermine careful Soviet strategy for a first strike, or an ultimatum, that the Soviet Union would actually go so far as to strike first.

But the people who argue along such lines are always arguing along parallel lines to the effect that all nuclear wars are necessarily suicidal. This presupposes that the United States would fight back. And as long as Mr. Reagan is President, that exactly is what would happen. From all of which it is comforting to know that there is no chance of a nuclear war in the immediate days ahead, and a very good chance of developing an effective deterrent nuclear shield. □

AFTER-STORM THOUGHTS

NEW YORK, OCT. 2

A CAREFUL reading of after-storm sentiment reveals that many people were disappointed over the modest level of damage done to other people by hurricane Gloria. Everyone was geared up to seeing that night's television give us gruesome details on the holocaust visited on the Eastern Seaboard. It seemed only fair, after all, that Providence should distribute its displeasures with some sense of equality. The Northwest has its volcanoes, the West its earthquakes, the Midwest its tornadoes, the South and East, their hurricanes.

We (my wife and I) arrived at our home just after noon on Friday, and then came the throat-catching first view of the property. The lordly weeping willow tree, planted at my direction only 12 years ago and already a bower of serene delight, contributing what seemed almost 45 degrees of the leafy profile of a leafy lawn: down, as unambiguously as though it had been winched down: its private parts, torn up from the earth, exposed to the air. Alongside it a large maple, also gone. And then, by the terrace, a Japanese cherry tree that seemed small and tough and sinewy enough to withstand anything, but it was gone. The beach was relatively calm, the beneficiary of a low tide.

And suddenly the sun, brilliant; the wind, dead, as suddenly as though a great switch had been thrown. "We are," I said to my wife, "in the eye of the hurricane, and you can expect the worst to begin in about ten minutes." The barometer in my study read 28.80. What then happened was: nothing. Suddenly the glass was at 31.00. Oh, the winds blew, but nothing you'd have noticed if the radio hadn't been on telling you nonstop about the hurricane churning by. For some reason not explained, the tail end of the hurricane simply gave up, the full force husbanded by the leading edge. It was over.

Except that we had no electricity, a condition that had begun at ten that morning and lasted until five the following morning. Nineteen hours without power, translated, in our case, to 19 hours of powerlessness.

Among my infrequent nightmares is that I should one day find myself the Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court. You will perhaps remember the charming book by Mark Twain in which a time warp captures the Connecticut Yankee and transports him to the Court of King Arthur. There, surveying the primitive charm, he introduces, well, the technology of the day of Mark Twain, which included electricity, motors, engines, and an almanac's knowledge of natural phenomena like the date and times of total eclipses.

My nightmare concentrates on my utter mechanical uselessness. My memory is rusty, but I am fairly certain that King Arthur, unlike the Incas who came along a thousand years later, had the wheel. I am very sorry about that because I could have taught King Arthur about the wheel. But what else? I could give him the idea for a screwdriver, but would not know how to cast one, if that is the correct word. If King Arthur had some peanuts, I could teach him to make peanut butter, but I confess that I am getting close to the old saw about how if you had some ham we could have a ham sandwich, if I had some bread.

AND SO I reflected on the huge, continuing debt we owe for our creature comforts to the men of science, and to the engineers. Meanwhile, having no light to read by, we went to a movie. The most awful bore I can remember since last I heard a speech in the United Nations. I will give any reader who sends me 25 cents the name of that movie so that he can avoid it; or else I will not do so if the director, whose last name rhymes with Borghese, will send me a million dollars and the promise to let me see his next script some time before the next hurricane.

Meanwhile, it is over, and it is strangely refreshing to suffer blows less than mortal, and to be reminded of how much there is to be grateful for. There is a quickening of the spirit, and we are reminded of a few sentences of Cardinal Newman . . . "Spring passes into summer and through summer and autumn into winter. Only the more surely, by its more ultimate return, to triumph over that grave toward which it resolutely hastens from its first hour. We mourn over the blossoms of May because they are to wither. But we know withal that May is one day to have its revenge upon November, by the revolution of the solemn circle that never stops. Which teaches us in our height of hopes ever to be sober. And in our depths of desolation, never to despair." □

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

EDMUND BURKE:
Alternatives

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Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

MY ONE AND ONLY, JLH: Don't you remember the joy of repartee and relocation? Must we remain apart; can't we regain paradise lost; won't you reconsider? I miss you terribly. Love, R.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Insurgents
189 150 33 192 51 2 203 120 209 109
18 68 171 92 80

B. Squadron of planes
186 137 16 162 58 116 77 91 29 158

C. Prophets
193 127 21 174 75 57 104 208 180 39
149

D. Devotee of Sartre
194 69 83 206 175 164 151 196 17 1
50 133 105 119

E. Member of a Protestant denomination
19 47 172 74 95 35 117 159

F. Frustrate
199 38 76 97 183 160

G. This old chap was a good egg (2 words)
173 43 66 115 3 156 143 98 22 190
134 82

H. He was number 34
184 28 87 145 165 204 46 73 125 10

I. Esteemed hardwood
201 59 135 108 168 81 13 36

J. Conifer
132 188 48

K. What you would have if Discovery landed in the end zone!
72 111 167 146 4 93 154 37 210

L. Hovels
85 148 54 130

M. Husband of Isis
166 71 49 112 140 14

N. How they dress in the garment district?
161 131 176 23 113 5 62 147 94 79
45

O. High-seas freeloader
99 44 152 170 27 207 67 202

P. Vacationing Caucasian? (hyph.)
53 26 138 126 169 70 8 100

Q. Brassica oleracea
121 139 182 78 205 55 129 15 106 34
163

R. Washington Irving character (full name)
56 118 197 9 42 177 155 96 191 24
185 142

S. The public owns them, but the electronic media control them
86 20 107 157 122 187 32 60

T. Descriptive of peaceable folk (hyph.)
123 200 103 179 144 7 31 90 52 63

U. The angel of music
101 195 40 136 88 11 64

V. Thespian malady
25 102 198 110 41 178 6 61 211 124
84

W. Pliant
114 12 141 181 30 89 153 128 65

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 D	2 A	3 G	4 K	5 N	6 V	7 T	8 P	9 R	10 H	11 U	12 W	13 I		14 M	15 Q	16 B	17 D	18 A	19 E
20 S	21 C	22 G		23 N	24 R	25 V		26 P	27 O	28 H	29 B	30 W	31 T		32 S	33 A	34 Q	35 E	36 I
37 K	38 F	39 C	40 U	41 V		42 R	43 G	44 O		45 N	46 H	47 E		48 J	49 M	50 D	51 A		52 T
53 P	54 L		55 Q	56 R	57 C	58 B		59 I		60 S	61 V	62 N	63 T	64 U	65 W		66 G	67 O	68 A
69 D	70 P	71 M	72 K		73 H	74 E	75 C		76 F	77 B	78 Q	79 N		80 A	81 I	82 G		83 D	84 V
	85 L	86 S	87 H		88 U	89 W	90 T	91 B	92 A	93 K		94 N	95 E	96 R	97 F	98 G	99 O	100P	
101U	102V		103T	104C	105D		106Q	107S	108I	109A	110V		111K	112M		113N	114W	115G	116B
117E	118R	119D	120A	121Q	122S	123T		124V	125H		126P	127C	128W	129Q		130L	131N	132J	
133D	134G		135I	136U	137B		138P	139Q	140M	141W	142R	143G		144T	145H	146K	147N	148L	149C
150A		151D	152O	153W	154K	155R	156G		157S	158B	159E	160F		161N	162B	163Q		164D	165H
166M	167K	168I	169P		170O	171A	172E	173G		174C	175D		176N	177R		178V	179T	180C	181W
182Q	183F	184H		185R	186B	187S	188J	189A		190G	191R	192A	193C	194D	195U		196D	197R	198V
199F		200T		201I	202O	203A	204H		205Q	206D		207O	208C	209A	210K	211V			

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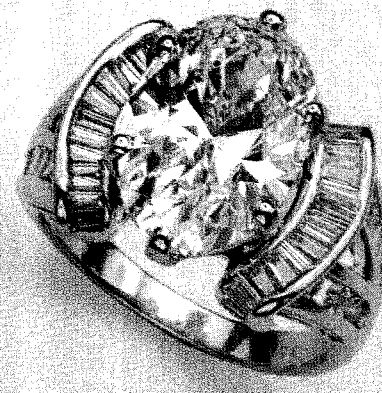

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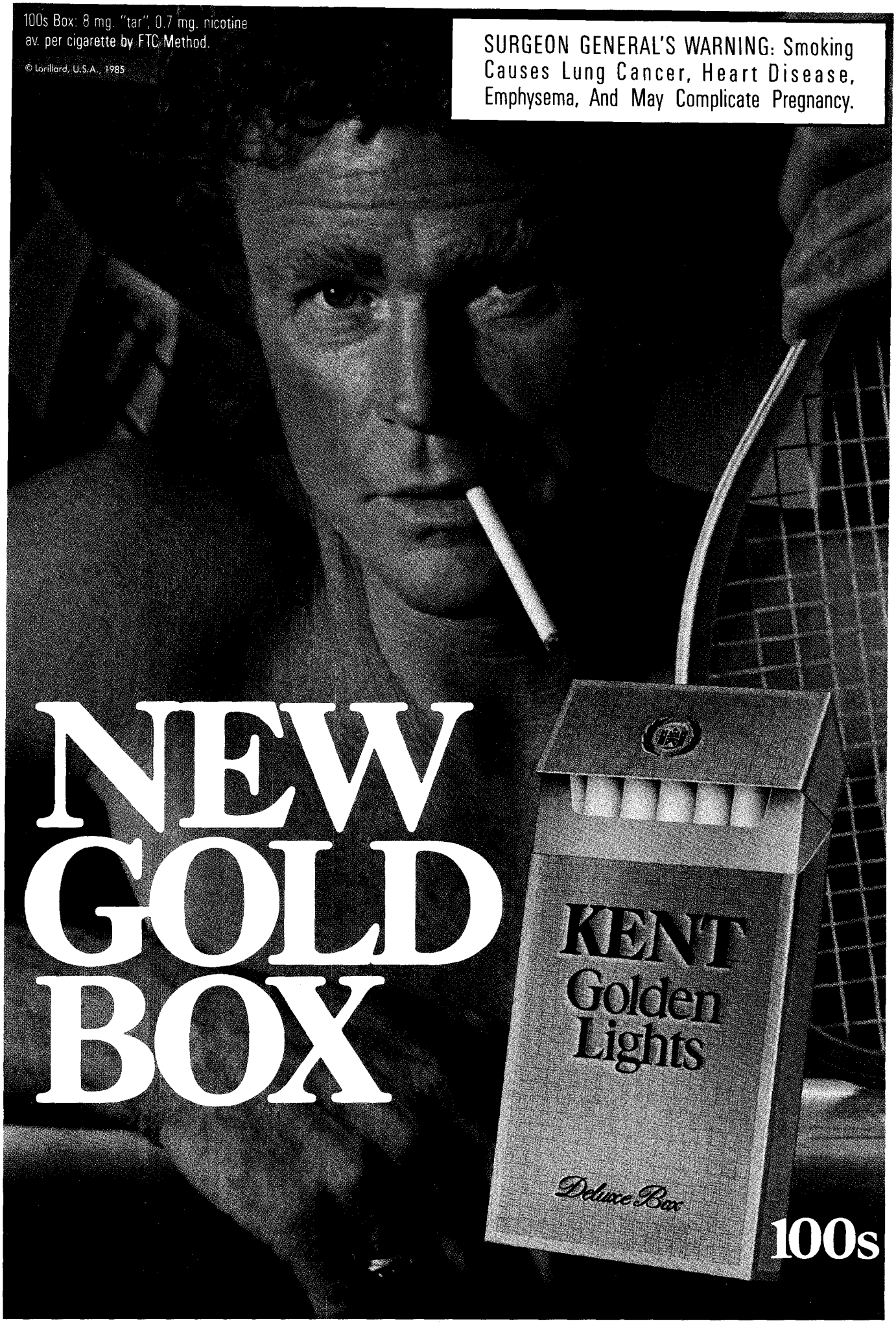

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